‘Won’t you come to the Hills?’

Community, Place and Folk Music in a Rural Northumbrian Parish

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Abstract

The thesis presents the ways musician members of the small rural parish of Tarset in Northumberland, England, construct and enact their sense of community and place through their musical practices. I consider myself a practicing folk musician, and therefore already occupying a relatively knowledgable position within the field. This insight is complimented by a range of ethnographic methods, including depth interview, participant observation, and ethnographic filmmaking. The empirical data was coded using an adaptation of the framework analysis model.

In a novel way, the research establishes various themes pertinent to rural community and place studies, through the prism of Northumbrian folk music. Employing Ruth Liepins' (2000a) model for rural community, analysis chapter 4 develops an understanding of the role of folk music participation in engendering a sense of community belonging and meaning; the socializing functions and the significance of 'authentic' community voices; and the structures and spaces in which musical practices occur. The research also indicates ways in musical practices can also inhibit senses of social inculsion.

Chapter 5 turns to ideas of rural place and landscape. Employing Keith Halfacree's (2006a) model for rural space, the chapter explores the ways folk music both connotes and detracts from a 'sense of place' through representations of rural locality. Again, the spaces in which music is practiced are explored, as are the associations between particular pieces and the Tarset landscape. Finally, I turn to the notion of rural occupations, particularly shepherding, as an embodied form of participation with the Northumberland landscape and musical tradition.

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Contents

Terminology

In the thesis the preferred term used for the description of participants' music is 'folk music'. 'Folk' is recognized widely within the literature as a term connoting an historical idiom, though with a wide degree of interpretation and hybridization. The imprecision of the term is acknowledged throughout the thesis, and reference is often made to related terminologies of 'traditional' or 'vernacular' music. These also share problems of prescriptiveness and definition. As Phillip Bohlman notes in the introduction to *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, definition has been one of the most contested themes in literature on traditional and folk music; "… traditional music hardly seems more precise than folk music" (1988: xiii).

List of Images[1], Figures and Maps:

[1] All Images are stills taken directly from the Long Meadow unless otherwise stated. Timecodes are indicated above.

Chapter One: Introduction

I was born at Ashington in southeast Northumberland, known locally as the world's largest coal mining village. I was brought up in nearby Cramlington, a new town that by the 1970s had swallowed the collection of colliery hamlets thereabouts. There, names like High Pit, Klondyke and Brockwell Seam signify the coal-mining industry that once defined the industrial and cultural character of the region. I understood only loosely as a child that the hills in Cramlington, which we sledged down in winter - the 'dolly-heaps' - these were somehow manmade; their green and innocuous slopes filled with black coal slag. Those strange mounds are in their own way a curious kind of cultural artifact, reminders, so to speak, of a community-that-was, and no longer seems to be.

My introduction to Northumbrian folk music was by a similarly vague kind of cultural osmosis. At primary school assembly, probably like many children in the region, we would sing 'Bobby Shaftoe', 'The Keel Row' and 'Waters of Tyne'. Were we taught by an enlightened music teacher, a child of the 'second folk revival', perhaps? A disparate social, cultural, and political movement, the second English folk revival occurred roughly between 1945 and the mid 1970s, and represented a resurgence of popular interest in folk and traditional music in Britain and the United States (Brocken, 2003; Sweers, 2006). Partisan elements championed folk as the 'workers music'[2], whilst source material - and academic curiosity – was inspired by printed collections and broadside publications. The majority of these had been gathered during the earlier 'first English folk revival' of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In parallel with the English movements, though largely independently, two Newcastle-based 'revivals' also occured in the 1890s and in the post war

[2] See Harker (2007), *Class Act: The Cultural & Political Life of Ewan MacColl* and Arthur (2012), *Bert: The Life & Times of A.L. Lloyd*.

years to 1975 (Murphy, 2007b)[3]. The latter of these also tended to endorse musical composition within the style of the idiom, so new songs and tunes could be written and performed with equal veracity to ostensibly 'traditional' ones. One song I remember singing at school in particular, 'North of the Tyne' - composed by songwriter Eric Boswell (1921 - 2009) – emerged from this short-lived 'Geordie Scene' of the 1970s. Indeed, the later moment witnessed a prolific compositional aspect, and a burgeoning use of material from wider non-regional sources (Burnett & Macraild, 2007). Other songs such as 'The Blaydon Races', if we did not sing them at school, certainly reached my consciousness at an early age. I recollect only a vague notion that those songs meant something about *where we were from*.

What, then, are the origins of the English folk movements, indeed, of the term 'folk', itself? What discourses and ideologies have persisted to characterize it in the 21st century? Before turning specifically to the 'Northumbrian tradition' it is worthwhile to refract that discussion through the lenses of the wider English revivals. Doing so will also help draw out the differences between the two. Furthermore, as this thesis concerns the rural community of Tarset, Northumberland, the following discussion will also highlight the peculiarly pastoral emphasis of English revival discourses: a complex – and contested – association, which nonetheless permeates the idiom (Kearney, 2007; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). In the next passage therefore, I address the origins of the English folk movement and its inherent 'ruralism', before turning attention to Northumberland proper and my case study community.

[3] As my research participant recollects: 'So we had access, it was in the sixties, we had access to all the Antiquarians Library. So, the likes of Alistair [Anderson] would come and just spend…copying tunes out from the Vicker's Collections, the original Vicker's Collections, and some of the original tune books … So, it was essentially not an oral tradition. It was…I suppose, a bit scholastic; we had to make our own way' (19: 883-889). The term 'revival' is contentious, however, because of the strength of feeling among Northumbrian musicians and scholars that the tradition has always survived in 'unbroken continuity' without need for revivalism (Murphy, 2007a).

1.1. '*A Belated Harvest is Being Garnered'*: Folk Ruralism

Changing perceptions of the rural laboring class are adapted by the discourses of the first English folk revival. Howkins (1996:218) illustrates the pejorative caricature of the rural labourer, 'Hodge' - an epithet with origins in the 14th century – and his becoming "totally synonymous with backwardness and lack of sophistication" during the 1820s. The 'Hodge' stereotype was evoked most frequently and uncontested in the middle of the 19th century. He lived in the south of England, in the Home Counties, East Anglia and the West Country, where wages were lower, the rural community more fragile, and "the social separation of employer and employee more complete" (Freeman, 2001:174). That this derisory stereotyping should originate from Southern England is in common with many of the 19th century's most dominant images of the countryside (Dyke, 1990) and pertinent to its subsequent inculcation in the first folk revival[4]. In the 1880s and 1890s a perceived decline in morality and culture among the urban working class – and rural depopulation caused by the higher wages of industrial employment – inspired a reappraisal of rural discourses among an essentially southern, artistic/intellectual, and urban elite (Howkins, 1996:225)[5], setting a trend through which figurehead folk music collector and theorist, Cecil Sharp, would define the 'common people' as repositories of folk culture. The degenerate and ignorant rural labourer of the pre-1870s then became an emancipated bearer of historical continuity; a source of 'Englishness' in race and culture (Atkinson, 2013; Howkins, 1996). The newly conceptualised rural 'peasantry' were widely perceived as spiritually and culturally superior, though, as a corollary, imperilled by

[4] Cecil Sharp, produced his five volumes of *Folk Songs from Somerset* (1904 to 1909) with only that county for experience. Sharp then produced the theoretical work *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* (1907) in which he defines the folk, or 'common people' from those observations.

[5] Various contemporary accounts reveal a class-dominated perception that the labourer was "best represented and publicised by 'articulate' outsiders" (Dyke, 1990:95).

unsavoury urban-centric influences. Thus commenced, under the patronage of the English Folk Song Society (founded 1898), the construction of a musical repertoire able to augment notions of historical continuance with a pre-capitalist utopia, and to combat the depravations of industrial modernity (Boyes, 1993). It was through this process that such caricatures as 'the folk', like 'the Northumbrians', were born, remaining remarkably persistent and in many respects unsophisticated likewise.

Harker (1972), however, has criticised Sharp in this respect for using folk music as the "raw material" or "instrument" for bourgeois ideological ends. He argues that the concept of 'the folk' is a misrepresentation of a rural proletariat under the guise of an agrarian 'folk': an unforgivable elitist intervention in working class culture (Atkinson, 2004: 145) [6]. Certainly many writings of the time attest to the theses of Harker (1972; 1985) and Boyes (1993), which posit 'the folk' as a grossly idealised characterisation and inhabitants of a primitive 'imagined village' lacking connection to the realities of both rural and industrial society (Gregory, 2011). Indeed, in the Introduction to *Folk Songs from Somerset* (1904) there are six references to the country *Folk,* which attest to their idealised superiority. Marson's evocation of "deep-chested English countrymen and their pretty womenfolk" (1904: ix-x) could as well as any illustrate the revivalists' appeal to Romantic/Pastoral symbolism. Similarly Carl Engel (1866) assured aspiring folk enthusiasts that traditional culture would be found best preserved among the 'less educated classes' in the areas 'somewhat remote' from the urban. Thus, the notion of the rural as folk

[6] Much of the late 20th century revisionist literature lights upon the political and class-based motivations of the revivalists (Atkinson, 2006; Boyes, 1993; Harker, 1979:1985). "In general", Vic Gammon (1980: 63) concludes, the first revivalists were "a well-educated, well-heeled set of middle-class people with a shared, sometimes amateur but more often professional, interest in music"[6]: He adds; "some were in the position of not having to work for their living" (ibid: 63). And, whilst the motivations of the revivalists appear at face value philanthropic and charitable – "a wholesome and seasonable exercise" (Parry, 1898) – albeit with patronising largesse, their attitudes are underscored with a bourgeois sensibility. As James Reeves notes, these musical "knights and professors" met in a Mayfair drawing room, not in a barn, public house or country kitchen (1958:2).

music's true home was well established by the turn of the 20th century and this steadfast notion occurs in almost limitless interdisciplinary accounts of the period (Francmanis, 2000).

The 'apogee of the rural idyll', Short (2006: 140) suggests, occurred in the period 1860 – 1930 and Pastoralism, Romanticism and *Rural Idyllicism* were potent ideas in late 19th century intellectual thought. It was from such discourses that the revival was pieced together. Ultimately, 'the folk' enabled the existence of an 'other' in society, upon whom were attributed various revivalist ideologies. Taken as fact in turn-of-the-century England, the instrumentality of the folk concept, with its potential support of both dominant and alternative ideologies – "offers much to explain its widespread acceptance" (Boyes, 1993:22; Francmanis, 2000)[7]. Perhaps coming closer than any other cultural movement to recovering traditional elements as the basis for a national culture (Armstrong & Pearson, 1979), much valuable research has already outlined the first revival's implications of authenticity, purity, tradition and nationalism in folk concepts (Boyes, 2010; Francmanis; 2002; Gregory, 2009; Harker, 1979; 1985; Spracklen, 2011) and the relationship between folk music and English national identity (Cooke, 1986; Cope, 2005; Finnegan, 1989; Morton, 2005; Revill, 2005; Stock, 2004)[8].

Fundamentally then, the first revivalists strove to articulate English folk culture as the product of a 'bygone' and firmly pastoral community. Through the pastoral, folk music is placed in landscape at the intersection of pre-capitalist community and culture (Firth, 1981; Revill, 2012). Oral transmission was considered by Sharp the *sine qua non* for authenticity in folk culture (Dyke,

[7] Indeed the theoretical propositions of the Revival's figureheads - exceptionally talented "publicists and communicators" such as Cecil Sharp, Ralph Vaughan Williams and Frank Kidson - enjoyed rapid dissemination and reinforcement through the Revival institutions and publications (Boyes, 1993); applied and propagandised by groups such as the Folk Song Society, the Folk Dance Society, The Morris Ring, the Folklore Society and various other ad hoc groupings.

[8] See Vaughan Williams, R., (1934) '*National Music and Other Essays'.* Oxford: University Press (1996)

1990:97)[9]. Thus, in the prevailing social-Darwinist 'survivals in culture' thesis of the late 19th century (e.g. Tylor, 1871) folk music was seen as a democratic product of generations of singers, each unthinkingly refining their song in successive settings such that any single 'creator' was impossible (Boyes, 1993; Gold & Revill, 2006). As George Revill (2005: 699) suggests, "by constructing the concept of a rural, uneducated, uncreative, 'folk' as the cultural source of their definition, collectors obviated the need to examine the role and individual contribution of the performers from whom music is collected". By deriving oral material from an unchartered past, the atavistic tendencies of the revivalists could be given free rein to idealise and propose a quasi-historical rural, pre-industrial, and bucolic age. The conscious omission of industrial music, and the bowdlerisation of bawdy or overtly sexual themes , were not considered problematic in such a conception. To implement the artefacts (the song and dance) of a bygone age, therefore, would be to bring about its return; the prospect of a world not just as it has been but 'as it could be again' (Boyes, 1993). The meticulous transcription of songs and dance figures were not intended for rebranding as popular entertainment but, as Boyes (1993:4) asserts, "instruments to effect a cultural change", particularly through school education[10].

The surge to revitalise English traditional music and dance, however, in the first revival at least, caught by the imagination of a relatively small, middle-class group, achieved only a brief fashion from 1904 to 1914 and in the early 1920s. Ultimately, this anachronistic movement never quite realised the cultural emancipation its figureheads intended, its vogue status was short-lived and fashion later relegated it to the "specialist enclave it has occupied ever since" (Bearman, 2000:753). Nonetheless, the first English folk revival exerts a continuing presence in our cultural historiography. Most notably, David Hillary (2005: 5) makes clear, "the belief that remoteness was the *sine*

[9] "The music of songs could be assessed by its adherence to modal scales, and their words by stylistic conformity with texts which deemed to bear the hallmarks of oral transition" (Atkinson, 2004a: 144).

[10] Vaughan-Williams, R., (1902) 'A School of English Music', *The Vocalist,*

qua non for a continuing singing tradition to endure is very hard in dying". Moreover, the institutions that first disseminated revivalist ideologies have succeeded in promoting their consonance for over a century of considerable socio-cultural turbulence (including debate as to whether the folk concept itself is a valid explanation of indigenous culture (Pickering & Green, 1987; Revill, 2005). These have resulted "not merely [in] reperformance but the embodiment of attitudes, values and concepts associated with the Revival in a lifestyle", today manifest in the familiar subculture of 'The Folkies' (Boyes, 1993:2).

The first revival was also influential upon the later Second English Folk Revival, not least through the material collected. A.L. Lloyd's influential exegesis, *Folk Song in England* (1967), whilst maintaining many of the concepts of Sharp's thesis, expands the rural-centric definition of folk music to include industrial music (though by that time much 'industrial folk music', ignored by the first revival, had been lost (Hield, 2010)). Politically progressive and achieving far greater popular interest, the second revival saw the epistemological liberation of 'authenticity' from source material, to 'authenticity' in style and context. Moreover, the relative social emancipation of the working classes in this period, into higher education for example, allowed the folk figureheads of the 1950s, '60s, and '70s, to come from more humble backgrounds into folk production. As Keegan-Phipps puts it: "In short, the emancipation of the working classes saw the 'folk' becoming educators, whilst emphasis within the revival on context and idiomatic content saw educators becoming the 'folk'" (2007: 89). However, some quarters of the second revival nonetheless maintained a conception of tradition easily distorted as "romantic antiquarianism", leading again to veneration of a kind of pseudo-community, perceiving its origins once more in the idealisation of rural village life (Armstrong & Pearson, 1979:97; Halfacree, 2006b; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). Spracklen (2011) has even shown in his study of online 'folk communities' that today many forum members still actively resist 'post-modernity, globalisation and instrumental consumption'. Halfacree (2006b)

similarly describes a 'back-to-the-land' sentiment in attendance at rural folk music festivals.

My primary interest has been this emphasis upon rurality as the origin of folk music in revivalist ideologies (Boyes, 1993; 2005; Frith & Horne, 1987; Harker, 1985; Hield, 2010; Revill, 2012; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009) and its continuing presence in imaginings of the countryside (Halfacree, 2001; 2006b; Revill, 2012). Specifically it is the Northumbrian tradition which is my object of study. As I show in the following section, the Northumbrian tradition differs somewhat in both origin and make-up to those of the English revivals. Indeed, quite unlike the claims of English revivalism, which revisionist analyses have deconstructed (e.g. Boyes, 1993; Brocken, 2003; Harker, 1985), Northumbrian music has maintained an aesthetic of stability and self-containment (Feintuch, 1995; 2006; Frith, 2000; Murphy, 2007a; 2007b). This is despite such assertions sometimes conflicting with historical evidence[11] (Feintuch, 1995; Revill, 2005) and even against its own diverse musical hybridity (Burnett & Macraild, 2007). Indeed, what makes this a particularly interesting field of study is that 'Northumbrian music' is claimed by its practitioners to fulfill an unbroken and much-vaunted 'continuity' with the past, particularly through a group of mid 20th century musicians known as 'The Shepherds'. As one research participant told me:

> To revive suggests that it died out in some form, but the great thing is that it didn't die out with those players [The Shepherds]; the people who knew them and their living memory lives on in the playing today. The playing has never stopped, it may have found different expressions, but it has always continued and in many ways there's a sort of new growth of playing. There's much more accessibility to instruments … I don't think there is any point at which you can say it stopped or it started, or it took on a new form. I think it evolves through the individuals that are playing it at the time … (I~Gwennie)

[11] The Northumbrian Smallpipes, for example, were originally an 'urban' instrument during the 18th & 19th centuries; built and played by craftsmen and musicians in the densely populated south east of the county (Feintuch, 2006).

This “blurring at the edges of continuous tradition and revival”, Judith Murphy has argued, “… [is] therefore an indicator of regional particularity” (2007a: 5) - forming the very ‘essence and fabric of local distinctiveness and ‘spirit of place’ (Corsane *et al.*, 2009). These claims have significant impacts upon the lived experience of musicians in rural Northumberland. In the following section therefore, it is pertinent to explore the ‘makings of Northumbria’, as a regional identity and musical repertoire, before turning then to the two core analytic themes of ‘community’ and ‘place’, which preoccupy the thesis.

1.2. The Makings of ‘Northumbria’: A Region and its Music

The moments of interest in Northumbrian music coincide historically with those of the English revivals, though, as I show, are also somewhat distinct in character and objective. As I see it, an important aspect in approaching Northumberland’s regional identity, its musical tradition, and their contemporary practices, necessitates an understanding of the county’s ‘zonal’ geography. In Northumberland, there are three geographically, arguably culturally, and certainly historically distinct regions, these are The Borders, Northumberland itself and Tyneside, including Newcastle upon Tyne[12]. “’Northumbria’ may thus be understood as a culturally and physically delimited region, framed by the sea, two broad ‘frontier’ valleys, and an upland ‘border’” (Phythian-Adams, 2007: 347). In each area can be found a more or less distinctive musical heritage, traceable to particular historical moments and associated with the industrial, economic, political, social and cultural

[12] Prior to the Local Government Act of 1972, the county boundary of Northumberland reached the Northern bank of the river Tyne at Newcastle upon Tyne. The southern side of the river marked the northern border of County Durham. To the west the county borders with Cumbria and to the north, with Scotland along the River Tweed. Although the 1972 Act ceded Newcastle and the settlements of North Tyneside to the new Metropolitan County of Tyne and Wear, this is simply one reconfiguration of Northumberland’s boundaries in an ancient history.

characteristics thereof. As the following discussion shows, these musical traditions, representing the borders, rural Northumberland and urban Newcastle, are actually fused into a sense of coherence within the tradition.

Map 1.1: Northumberland, showing Tyneside, the Borders and Tarset.

I begin with an introduction to my case study community, Tarset, situated in the Northumbrian borders (see map 1.1). The civil parish of Tarset itself was formed in 1955 and is situated in the upper North Tyne valley, amid the Cheviot Hills and the historical 'Middle-March': the very heart of the borders and 'Reiving Country' (Moffat, 2007). The parish contains the hamlets of Lanehead, Greenhaugh, Greystead and the stately home, Highgreen Manor (see map 1.2). The population of Tarset is less than 300 and, beyond the hamlets, cottages are widely dispersed, reflecting an economy historically based upon hill-farming. As the Tarset community website notes:

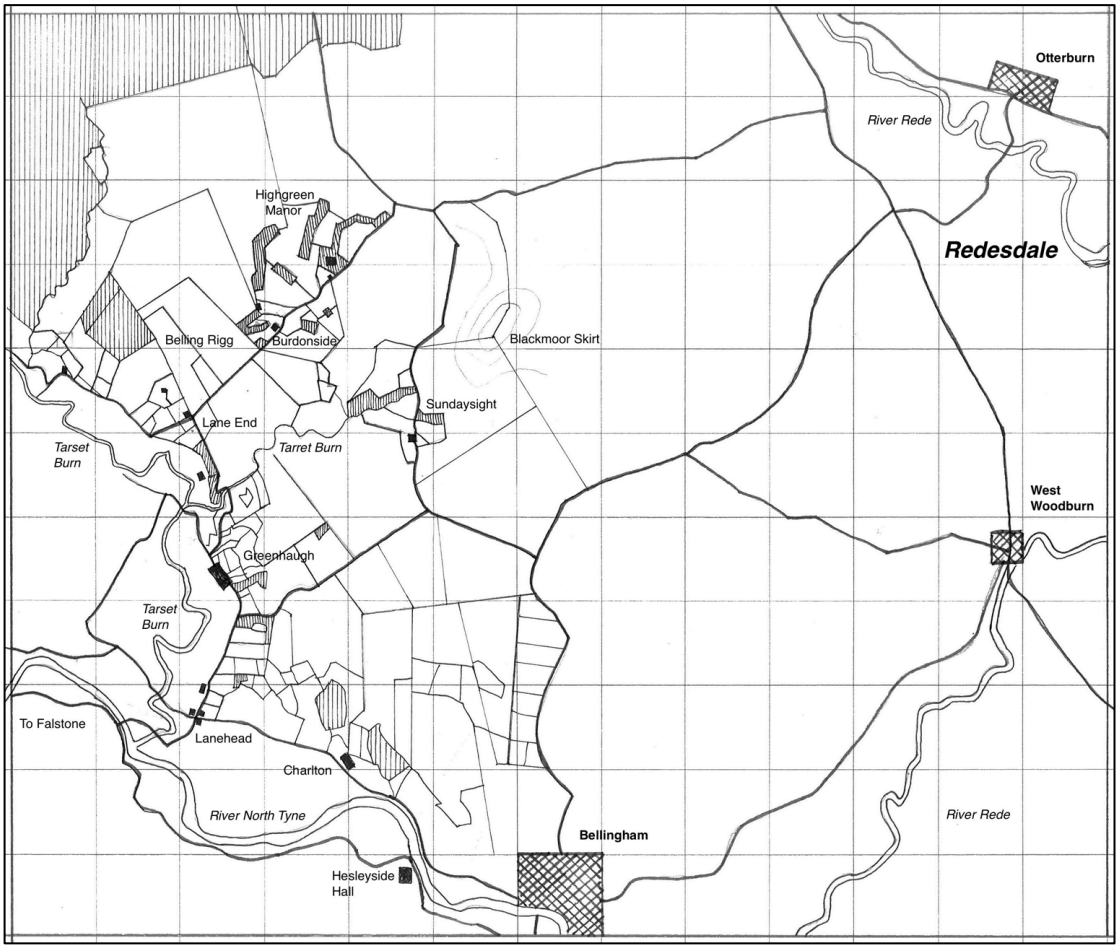
> Most of the community activities centre around Tarset Village Hall at Lanehead, and the Holly Bush Inn and First School at Greenhaugh. However, Tarset residents are also active participants, organisers and helpers with groups and activities in the adjacent communities of Bellingham, Falstone, Kielder and Redesdale. This leads to a rich and varied programme of community events.

In far North Tynedale, 3 miles northwest of the Kielder Reservoir and just within the English side of the present Anglo-Scottish border, the River North Tyne rises from the 'desolate waste' of Deadwater. From the reservoir the river continues, fed by countless burns from the Cheviot Hills – including the Tarset and the Tarret – to meet the river Reed and the South Tyne at Warden Rocks. "Wild and bloody is the history of North Tynedale" according to Nancy Ridley (1966: 71), due mainly, to its four great reiving families: the Charltons, Dodds, Milburns and Robsons: "Every village and hamlet, every burn in the upper reaches of the North Tyne has its grim history or legend" (ibid: 78). These *Debatable Lands*, centred on the 'wild open hills' of Northumberland, Cumberland, Roxburgh and Selkirk are still home to the 'Riding Names' of the Border Reivers. These were bands of thieves, bound by kinship, who plundered both sides of the border indiscriminately from the late 13th to the early 17th centuries (Macdonald Fraser, 1971; Colls, 2007). Being the hinterland of the Scottish borders, "the great determinant of the area's social and political complexion" (Wrightson, 2007: 133), the toleration of Northumberland's sometimes ambiguously alleged nobility and the granting to them of jurisdictional liberties made for exceptional concentrations of magnate power during this period. The Percy's were and remain the greatest of these - with the combined devolved power of the crown and pre-existing leadership in the local society - their 'affinities' of retainers and peasantry were often called into 'defensible array' (Wrightson, 2007: 132-133). It was in the Borders of the 15th and 16th centuries that the appetite for chivalry and heroism in song was never greater and the Border Ballads, our most ancient canon of song, are rooted in this frontier landscape (Hodgkin, 1950). A.L. Lloyd (1969: 163-165) describes this musical region as follows:

> The bare rolling stretch of country from the North Tyne and Cheviots to the Scottish southern uplands was for a long time the territory of men who spoke English but had the outlook of Afghan tribesmen; they prized a poem almost as much as plunder, and produced such an impressive assembly of local narrative songs that some people label all our greater folk poems as 'Border ballads'. Like all poetry and music, the ballads reflect the time and place from which they sprang, or rather the epoch and locality in which they crystallized into the form we know. But that reflection is not direct, not without

> distortion. On the surface the songs may show a rich highly-coloured society, but under the surface the thought is determined by a way of life that may be as poor, wold and rough as that of any snot-nosed moss-trooper who stravaged the robber-valleys of Redesdale and the North Tyne in the seventeenth century. The reflection of social reality provided by the ballads is often blurred because so many ghosts of so many pasts are looking back out of the mirror.

James Reed (1991) therefore, recognizes the borders as they are, and have been perceived by their inhabitants, as an almost culturally independent region (see also Moffat, 2007).



Map 1.2 Tarset Parish

Unsurprisingly, the past is curiously present in Tarset. The landscape is littered with reminders of this fractious history in its many bastle houses,

ingenious fortified dwellings designed to repel raiders from both sides of the border. Hesleyside Hall, near Bellingham, still belongs to the Charlton family. Elsewhere Bells, Armstrongs, Elliots, Nixons, Charltons, Croziers, Shaftoes, Stokoes, Ridleys and so on "…not only people the [border] ballads but enrich the business directories and school registers in the area today…" (Reed, 1991: 10; MacDonald Fraser, 1971). Throughout the Cheviot Hills many 'Borderers' are still loathe to recognize themselves as either English or Scottish, steeped as they are in both the mythologies and familial ancestry of the Reivers (MacDonald Fraser, 1971; Moffat, 2007). My primary research participant, hill farmer and singer, David McCracken, in conversation outside of Tarset village hall one evening, and discussing nature being either Scottish or English in North Northumberland, reflected that, being neither, he was instead 'a Borderer'. This sense of border identity, without national allegiance, is common to other participants too, and can be found in the discourses of Tarset community, place and musical repertoire constructs. As historian Charles Phythian-Adams reflects, 'Northumbria' still preserves an inner cultural distinctiveness "by collective perceptions of what is within" (2007: 359). Thus, any examination must bear witness to what we might call cultural-ecology. That is to say, the structures of culture, society, economics, politics etcetera that undoubtedly influence one's construction of both 'place' and 'community'. The Northumbrian region houses a community which therefore 'imagines itself in to being' by the very perception of its own boundaries (Anderson, 1983; Cohen, 1985; 2000).

Image 1.1: Tarset's upland landscape

In the late 16th & 17th centuries such ideas scarcely existed, however. 'Regions' as spatial units of geographical identity were not necessarily meaningful in this period (Green, A. 2003: 126). "Perhaps the north-eastern counties at this point in time" Wrightson suggests (2007: 133) "are best thought of as part of a larger border zone; a geographically distinct part, and one with its own peculiar institutions, but for the most part lacking distinctive collective identity economically, administratively, politically, or in the consciousness of its inhabitants". Any sense of regional identity, therefore, arises in more recent, industrial periods of history than those of the Reiving days. Indeed the cultural ecology that makes up the Northumbrian tradition is as inextricably urban as it is rural. From industrialization an immanent regional identity emerges. Wrightson (2007: 128) therefore argues the elements of a 'coherent regional identity' were laid in the precocious industrial and commercial successes of the centuries 1560 – 1760, and with this, the reoriented 'directional logic' of Northumberland. After the Treaty of the Union

on May 1st 1707 – and the resolution of Anglo-Scottish tensions, which since 1237 had dogged the lawless 'borderlands' – Northumberland turned, so to speak, to face southwards toward England. It was in this moment that south Northumberland became the main foci for population and labour, centred on the Great Northumbrian Coalfield and close to the shipping ports of Blyth and Newcastle upon Tyne[13].

The makings of 'Northumbria' involved the emergence of distinctive social and cultural institutions in this period, associated with both the laboring classes and the bourgeoisie (Usherwood, 2007; Wrightson, 2007). In the newly urbanized southeast the great insurgence of men, who, living in unprecedented social structures and proximity, and having little in the way of an established industrial tradition to build on, "… created one, pragmatically, step by step" (Wrightson, 2007:137). Thus a musical tradition beginning as early as the 17th century and increasing in the 18th and 19th was forged in the cultures of industry. The unique working class institution, the Northern music–hall, provided the forum from which much of the material to form the Northumbrian musical canon originates (Bell, 1980; Harker, 1981). The esurience of dialect literature in the early part of the 19th century, much like the 'Hodge' epithet, had tended to depict crude caricatures of the working classes (Colls, 1977). These however set the precedent for the music-hall writers who would take up the popular formula in the latter half of the century and venerate, characterize, and memorialize the idiosyncrasies of Tynesiders in song (Harker, 1972; Stefano & Corsane, 2008). Unlike the Sharpian revival, these Tyneside songsmiths were actively praised as celebrities; singular creators of folk culture. What is more, many hundreds of their compositions

[13] In the mid 16th century, coal export from Newcastle to London was some 15 000 tons, rising to 50 000 by the 1580s and 500 000 by the mid 17th century. The expansion of wagon-ways meant collieries further from the Tyne contributed to produce near a million tons in 1750 (Wrightson, 2007: 136). The availability of 'small coals' on Tyneside augmented the Salt production industry, being the largest concentration in England between North and South Shields. Iron manufacturing, glass, earthenware and any number of other ancillary industries also flourished.

were published contemporarliy in Tyneside 'chapbooks', a form of non-oral song transmission of the kind rejected by Sharp (Harker, 1981).

Importantly, a vast proportion of the urban workforce was migrant labour from rural Northumberland and the Borders, effectively uniting the Northumberland massive with Tyneside (Wrightson, 2007: 140; see, Map 1.1). Moreover, as rural farmworkers moved to Tyneside, migrant Scots, who brought with them their own music, in turn replaced them:

> … there was a movement, certainly from Aberdeenshire, looking at the songs, down to the border areas. And there was a move, as the keel trade developed, from rural areas to the urban areas … and that meant there was vacancies at the farms, which were occupied by people from other parts of the country, particularly people moving down from Scotland (I~Johnny)

Similarly, the Tyneside conurbations required unprecedented levels of food production, transforming the rural economies of Northumberland and Durham. The effects of this, Wrightson (2007: 142) argues, were to "accentuate emphatically the existing pastoral emphasis of agriculture in Northumberland and Durham". Rural Northumberland and the Borders, then, were not severed from Tyneside life and culture; rural music was taken to Tyneside along the roads of commerce, and *vice versa*. Tyneside music hall performers travelled to outlying areas and their songs certainly continued, and continue, to be performed there[14]. The folk tradition of the area is therefore the result of the "fusing together of different musical idioms" (Burnett & Macraild, 2007: 193) [15]. After Pickering and Green (1987: 12) we might add:

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[14] For instance, there is recording made by Alistair Anderson of Jack Armstrong's Barnstormers, playing at Dinnington Northumberland on July 1st 1950; the audience can clearly be heard singing the Blaydon Races (FARNE.online).

[15] The burgeoning Tyneside population was also incremented with both Scottish and Irish migrant labourers, bringing with them not only their respective Presbyterian and Catholic faiths but elements of their musical cultures too (Colls, 1977). George Ridley, the "most successful delineator … of local, Irish, comic and Sentimental songs" (Harker, 1972: 9), commonly set his music-hall anthems to Irish melodies. Indeed, many popular melodies were of Scotch or Irish origin (Burnett & Macraild, 2007) and even the 'Keel

> Certain elements of culture may well be specifically local or regional, but they are borrowed from a range of different sources, and assimilated and sedimented within local groupings.

Thus, like the English folk revivals, so Northumbrian musical discourse has never been independent of the cultural zeitgeist at various moments (Murphy, 2007)[16]. Contemporarily with the first revivalists in the south of England – though largely independent of them – this coalescing Northumbrian repertoire was collected and notated in the late 19th century by a loose collective of Newcastle-based antiquarians, publishers and industrialists, centered on the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries and made wealthy by the coal trade[17]. This, however, was only one aspect of a broad movement to characterize, historicize, and arguably 'mythologize', 'Northumbria' and 'Northumbrians'[18] (Colls, 2007). Our idea of Northumberland then, according to Robert Colls (2007), is one conjured in the imagination of this 19th century 'regional intelligentsia'. The 'New Northumbrians' effectively rediscovered and redefined 'Northumbria', appropriating its distant history and romanticizing it into Victoriana convention; "promulgating a doctrine of enchantment", based

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Row', that most undisputedly Tyneside song has been said to have a slight Scottish influence, due perhaps, to the large number of Scots in that occupation (Simpson, 1991).

[16] The first revival, centred in the south of England, constituted and reflected much wider Cultural aspirations of the period (See Alun Howkins, 1986; Martin Weiner, 1985;). Commonalities may be seen in Williams Morris' Arts and Crafts movement; the Guild of Handicrafts; and the garden-city movement for example (Bennett, 1993). Thus the panacea of Revivalism, what A.L. Lloyd, in 1967, described as "an ideology of primitive romanticism with a vengeance" (p.3), because of the cultural climate of the age, was necessarily generated within the wider ideals of the 'English rural myth' and English nationalism.

[17] Notable collections include *The Northumbrian Minstresly* (Stokoe & Collingwood-Bruce, 1882); *A Beuk O' Newcassel Sangs* (Crawhall, 1888); *Tyneside Songs* (Catcheside-Warrington, 1912-1913); *Allen's Illustrated Edition of Tyneside Songs & Readings* (Allen, 1891); *Northumbrian Piper's Tunebook* (NPS, 1936); *Rhymes of the Northern Bards* (Bell, 1812).

[18] Dialect was an essential component of the newly found veneration for working folk in 19th century Northumberland (Beal, 2000). The unique throaty 'burr', in the pronunciation of the letter 'r', was seen as a 'cultural survival', after Edward Tylor's popular thesis, Primitive Culture, and a 'more or less connection of ancestral race' (1871: 49).

on the 7th and 8th century Anglian Kingdom, though incorporating medieval and early modern histories, which was to "affirm the modern world by re-charging it with historic meaning" (Colls, 2007: 151; Wrightson, 2007). A modern world, that is, whose sense of historical identity the forces of capitalism were eroding. Thus, the 'idea of Northumbria', sustained originally by an historical reaction against the 'otherness' of the English and the Scots, who lay outside its borders, was 'repackaged' as a shared identity among those *within* them (Phythian-Adams, 2007). The discourse of 'regional identity' is therefore a projection; constructed to serve what Bladey (2012: 2) calls 'the mystery of regionalism':

> It is not a place where ordinary people can be found, but a place where they are represented, generalized and codified in an artifact, which can be put to use for the common good or for the purposes of other subcultures.

The implication of merging Tyneside with Northumberland and the Borders in the 'myth of Northumbria', Usherwood argues, has been to promote Northumberland as an "oasis of aboriginal authenticity" (2007: 246). In each period, then, the elements which make this cultural identity are made with some association to a 'meaningful past'; inculcated into a more finely drawn 'identity' than 'Englishness'; from a kingdom much older than England and one that remained, at least in imagination, "at the edge … a modern, northern, civilization that was a democratic alternative to what was being promulgated in the south" (Colls, 2007: 151-152). And here, the New Northumbrians differ from the Sharpian revivalists. Their motivations were to construct an historical sense of 'regional identity', not a national one. As such, Northumbrian music remains culturally and geographically 'on the edge' (Feintuch, 2005). Perhaps accordingly, the song collectors of 19th century Newcastle, again unlike their southern counterparts, were undiscerning about the rural/urban provenance of their material, nor of its source (oral or printed), nor of its antiquity (Lloyd, 1965) [19].

[19] It is interesting again to note here, that in the concurrent Newcastle revival of the late 19th century, no distinction was drawn between rural and urban

Regardless of this middle class interventionism, the songs of the 19th century music hall, such as those I learned at school, persisted obstinately in North East culture well into the 20th century, and notably, travelled between rural and industrial areas. The music bounded by the outwardly cohesive 'Northumbrian tradition' then – like the Northumbrian 'region' - is itself as varied as the communities who produce[d] it, indeed "it is as varied as the landscape itself" (A.L. Lloyd, 1965). England's most northerly county boasts a 'musical-dialect' distinct from any other region. In terms of the music, this sense of regional distinctiveness is as much a fact of its character as an attitude of its practitioners (Handle, 1970). Thus, the musical diversity collated under the rubric 'Northumbrian', has lead some to question: How can a coherent sense of 'tradition' encapsulate such diverse elements as Cheviot dance tunes, the piping tradition and Tyneside mining songs; "The industrial, the rural and the post industrial"? (Murphy, 2007: 256). A means to grasp this sundry canon better would be to see the Northumbrian tradition, like Northumbrian culture in general, as something always and continually characterized and developed by 'osmosis', though serving certain ends to remain, in discourse at least, coherent and distinctive (Stephano & Corsane, 2009). Thus, whilst George Revill argues for a renewed approach to folk music as a "multi-regional, multi-national, urban-rural hybrid" (2005: 698), the Northumbrian tradition has, as we have seen, always been as such[20]. Likewise, putatively local music can in fact have travelled across the border before being geographically located:

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music. In the seminal collection 'Northumbrian Minstrelsey' (1882) Tyneside, Northumbrian and border songs, tunes and ballads are collated with apparently no consideration for their origins; firing a sense of cohesion in the Northumbrian tradition that persists today.

[20] As Judith Murphy (2007: 257) concludes: "… when dealing with a region's music, cultural identity cannot be dismissed as invention, pure and simple. Even though there are perceived differences between the music of more socially stable rural areas, and the industrial melting pot of the Tyne and Wear conurbations, there is sufficient blurring at the edges of these styles to argue for a coherent Northumbrian musical identity."

> I mean there's quite a respect for Scottish material, in the rural areas of Northumberland, but there's lots of reasons why that occurs, because of shepherding for example, sometimes shepherds would move to other parts of the country, and it would be easy for them to move across the borders … So that was a good way of getting songs moving around (I~David)

To illustrate this musical hybridity more tangibly, there is a story outlined by Judith Murphy (2007a), about legendary Northumbrian piper, Billy Pigg (1902 – 1968)[21]. Pigg played for the title track on the 1974 album, *Wild Hills O' Wannie – The Smallpipes of Northumbria* (LP, TOPIC 12TS227). *The Wild Hills O' Wannie* is now a tune synonymous with the Northumbrian tradition, the hills themselves sit above Ridsdale in the Rede Valley and every Boxing Day a group of hardy pipers play together, irrespective of the weather, at the summit of Wannies Crag. However, there exists an almost identical and indisputably older Scottish fiddle tune, *The Hills of Glenorchy*, and likewise an Irish tune, *The Jolly Corkonian* (Murphy, 2007)[22]. Such anecdotes immediately call into question the possibility of pure, stable or even authentic traditions such as those described by the first revivalists (Bohlman, 1993). "The moment of commodification", Connell and Gibson argue, "as music is transformed from cultural expression to product, as traditions are usurped by change – is crucial" to understanding ideas of 'authenticity', 'tradition' and 'spatial fixity' purported by folk discourses (2007: 19). To this end, Connell and Gibson

[21] A research participant recalls: 'I was privileged enough to go to Billy's a few times, and John Armstrong of Carrick's a few times, and there was other musicians there, and it was always the same pattern, you went and they talked about things you knew nowt about for some time, and then there was a supper, where you sat around the table, and generally there wasn't any drink. And then after a long…discussing the state of agriculture and everything like this, they would suddenly turn round and say, we'd better have a tune then. And then they would start to play, and play tunes, talk about tunes. And then generally sometime after midnight, they would say, well we'd put the kettle on, and so they would have some more sandwiches, and some more tunes' (I~Johnny)

[22] The tune also illustrates the migration of music between urban and rural areas: 'Pitman-poet' Tommy Armstrong (1848-1920) – who lived in Tanfield, County Durham - used *the Wild Hills O' Wannies* as the melody for his song *Marla Hill Ducks*, (Murphy, 2007: 257; www.pitmanpoet.org.uk).

(2007) point out as society changes, and music is commoditized in different ways, so too are musical instruments, songs and tunes rapidly diffused outwards from their original localities. The anonymous 'traditional' communities from which folk music is said to originate were in flux as much as those of the present, in which case Connell and Gibson argue, "there is, therefore, no particular moment at which any culture somehow becomes inauthentic" (2007: 27; Richards, 1992). Northumbrian piper, Joe Hutton (1923 - 1995), was a shepherd all his working life. Graham Dixon claims that it is due to Hutton's playing (along with his friends and contemporaries, Billy Pigg, Jack Armstrong, George Atkinson and Tommy Breckons) that the Northumbrian piping tradition survived "the relatively lean years of the 1940s and '50s" to become the popular instrument it is today (1995: 269). Hutton also played in a distinctive style and whilst he is said to have preferred the traditional 'F' pitched key, also played with a concert pitch 'G' chanter when playing with 'The Shepherds'. Indeed, Hutton eschewed the Northumbrian repertoire of 'airs and variations'; preferring instead the rhythm of Irish and Scottish, as well as Northumbrian, dance tunes (Dixon, 1995). With the advent of radio[23], folk festivals and so forth, so musicians like Hutton were exposed to new influences from as far afield as Canada and Scandinavia (Murphy, 2007). His choice of tunes remained, however, strongly influenced by the Northumbrian repertorie and the borders (Ross, 1996). Through the globalizing forces of modernity, media, the internet and mobility, therefore, one now has the opportunity to select songs or tunes from any or all of these 'traditions within traditions' (Murphy, 2007a) and still claim to express a connection with what is an essentialised, imagined past (Wright, 1985). As Cloke (2006: 18-19) suggests:

> The urbanization and indeed globalization of cultural dissemination through broadcast and print media and especially the Internet, means that most seemingly rural places in the Western World are effectively culturally urbanized.

[23] The radio variety programme 'Wot Cheor Geordie!' running from the early 1940s until 1956 helped instigate the re popularization of local music.

To question the provenance of folk music is therefore to participate in an invented revivalist discourse about the genealogy and geography of 'traditions'; a search for authenticity and origins. My concern here is not to delve too deeply into debates of authenticity, nor into the genealogy of songs and music. Instead I wish to explore the 'meanings' those concepts have to a small group of rural musicians. A conclusion drawn in chapter 5 suggests that the naming of tunes after specific places – like *The Wild Hills O' Wannies* - is also to endow them with vivid significance. "Remarks", Tuan notes, and for our purposes songs and tunes, "so ordinary in themselves but multiplied and spread over the years, sustain and enhance the meaning of place." (1991: 690). In my case-study parish of Tarset, Tyneside songs are sung at community events alongside ostensibly 'rural' Northumbrian dance and pipe tunes. Moreover, amongst my musician participants, a small yet distinctive and highly localized repertoire is being composed. With little question of origin both song and tune seem an important expression of communal identity. As Pickering and Green make clear in their conceptualization of vernacular culture, "it is not so much the origin or uniqueness which is important, though these factors should not be utterly discounted" (1987:12 in Revill, 2005), however:

> What is much more significant is how the heterogeneous assemblage of chosen material is brought together to give identity and definition to individuals and groupings within specific positions in the social structure, and within specific geographical and occupational locations … It is the process of localization which is then under consideration

The process of 'localization' through the anchoring of folk music in a distinctive, geographically bounded community and place is the main object of my study. Such inventions necessarily have recourse to 'invented geographies' whereby regional styles can be fixed spatially[24]; a conjunction of

[24] Various works have attempted to fix musical genres geographically (Nettl, 1956; Nash, 1978; Lomax, 1976), and, whilst not without merit, have been criticized for their arbitrary, functionalist indicators, which have little relevance to the dynamism of contemporary cultures (Keil, 1994).

culture, geography and practice, which, Connell & Gibson argue, "points to the idealization of a culture, and its musical heritage, seemingly in danger of disintegration, out of ideological (and later commercial) concerns" (2007: 30). The shifting patterns of musical consumption and locality in the present simply demonstrate, in the words of Erik Cohen (1984: 388) " … another, albeit accelerated, stage in the continuous process of cultural change". And the process continues. The songs of the tradition were not, prior to the second folk revival - which had a further reaching influence upon the 'Geordie scene' - described as 'folk songs' as such, but simply popular or 'Geordie' songs. As my research participant recollects:

> So in the folk revival, we already had a lot of material, here in collections. And because this material had been published, and particularly urban material, had been used, not as folk songs, but as Tyneside songs, Geordie songs, in some cases Northumbrian songs, but more associated with the urban areas, this was like our own folk culture, but it wasn't folk. You see, folk wasn't cool. It wasn't accepted by the majority of the people. Folk was weird (I~Johnny)

Yet they quickly became 'folk songs', and folk became 'cool' too, under the auspices of the post-war, second revival. In this moment rural/urban movement of Northumbrian music continued too. A group of rural musicians, known collectively as 'The Shepherds', were popularized on Tyneside and nationally through the mechanisms of the second folk revival from the 1960s. Musician Alistair Anderson, in the obituary of shepherd fiddle-player Will Taylor, writes tellingly of this: "He [Taylor] brought the authentic sound of traditional music from Northumberland and the Borders to festival audiences from Cambridge to Sidmouth, from Whitby to Shetland, and to the Queen Elizabeth Hall, in London" (Guardian online). In Newcastle, the 'Geordie revival' of the 1970s created a commercial platform, spearheaded by the success of folk-rock bands such as Lindisfarne, as well as folk club circuiteers like Louis Killen and the High Level Ranters. Upon their successes the folk music of the North East would and continues to be heralded as regionally unique and a source of regional identity; 'commodified' through record sales in

a profusion of 'Northumbriana kitsch', akin to the 'Celtic dawn' of Scottish revivalism (Murphy, 2007a).

As a young adult exploring my parents' record collection, I realized that in a small way, like many of their generation, 'revivalism' had touched them too. My mother had an LP *Out of the Wind, Into the Sun* by The Bothy Band; my father the likes of Pentangle, Steeleye Span, Fairport Convention and Northumbrian piper and fiddle player, Kathryn Tickell. My parents' small interest in 'folk music' is, I am sure, due to its commercialization as a 'genre' from the 1960s onwards. Indeed, a specialist media and recording industry has been built upon this ideologically charged 'folk scene' (Keegan-Phipps, 2008; Brocken, 2003; Sweers, 2006; Hield, 2010). The popular dissemination of English traditional culture through the English folk revivals is important to our understandings of the folk idiom[25]. As Redhead and Street identify, 'legitimacy', 'authenticity' and 'community' are overarching components to the revivalist 'folk ideology' (1989: 179-189; Knox, 2008). The ethic of 'preservation of tradition', the qualification of 'specialists', the active engagement of 'folkies' and the passive engagement of popular music consumers are now commonplace in our assumptions about folk music (Brocken, 2003).

[25] Although my interest is in the Northumberland region, often neglected in revival scholarship (Feintuch, 2006; Murphy, 2007)

Figure 1.1: Advertisement taken from *The English Dance and Song Journal*: 'The Folk Music of Northumbria' (Spring, 1970)

In Northumberland, notable musicians such as Tickell, Anderson, Johnny Handle, The High-Level Ranters, Louis Killen, Bob Davenport and The Unthanks have built careers at a national level upon this stage (Broughton *et al.* 1999). Their output has been based, in part at least, upon the Northumbrian repertoire and a promulgated sense of Northumbrian identity[26]. By association, we may also parallel the commodification of folk music with the commodification and consumption of the rural, particularly through touristic activities (Crouch, 2006). This sense of 'Northumbriana' has periodically been used to promote the North East to tourists (see figure one from 1970; Usherwood, 2007). To this theme I shall have continual recourse, exploring

[26] Kathryn Tickell's *Borderlands* (CD, Black Crow Records, 1986: CROCD210) and *Debatable Lands* (CD, Park Records, 1999: PRKCD50) both reflect the commercial popularity of a 'border mythology'. Some recording artists may express connection with 'place' not only through song lyrics and titles, Long (2013) suggests, but also through album art and titles, liner notes, broadcasts and interviews. However, Revill argues, "the relationships between music and landscape are not nearly as simple and direct as record promoters and CD packaging designers would have us believe" (2012: 231).

the relationships between cultural heritage and 'sense of belonging' and 'place' in rural Northumberland (Stephano & Corsane, 2008).

With their influence, some of these 'musical personalities' have also been integral to developing what we may call new 'administrative' bodies for the promotion of folk music in the North East (Keegan-Phipps, 2007). Johnny Handle has curated '*the Northumbria Anthology*', an online resource and 20CD box set of musical material covering the region from North Yorkshire to the Borders. Likewise the online 'Folk Archive Resource North East' (FARNE), has over 4000 songs, tunes, recordings and photographs – "bringing the musical heritage of the region alive" (www.folknortheast.com). Like many involved in folk music, they have also been concerned with its educational potential (Richards, 1992; Revill, 2005). As such, 'Folkworks' at the SAGE Gateshead and Newcastle University's 'Folk and Traditional Music degree' have given a renewed pedagogic and institutional element to folk music's place within the region in the 21st century (Keegan-Phipps, 2007). "All of these traditions have remained", Stephano & Corsane suggest, "in the care of official societies and communities even if the people and settings have changed" (2008: 350). My work here is not concerned with this 'officialdom' *per se*. Rather, I explore the more informal mechanisms by which folk music persists in what appears an essentially 'natural' setting, a rural Northumbrian community. Whilst 'official' structures certainly influence music in Tarset, linking 'place' to wider relational spaces, in the analysis I am concerned with the role of 'motivated individuals', at amateur levels, and their importance to localized folk music practice (Russell, 2003). Thus it is the notion of 'community', which preoccupies the first part of my analysis (chapter 4) and to which I now turn.

1.3. Musical Communities

For my own part, a great deal of time elapsed before my later reintroduction to the musical culture of the North East. During my Masters degree studies at Newcastle University, and whilst working at The Cumberland Arms public house in the city – a centre for folk and traditional music in various guises – I joined the Newcastle Kingsmen, who practice there weekly. Since 1949 the Kingsmen have danced their own particular style of 'rapper' sword dance, a traditional dance once ubiquitous in the mining communities of the Durham and Northumbrian coalfields[27]. Through the Kingsmen and other friends, many of who are students or graduates of the university's 'Folk and Traditional music' degree programme, and of the SAGE Gateshead's 'Folkworks' programme (Keegan-Phipps, 2007), I became increasingly invested in a very particular 'community'.

In the Newcastle 'folk scene' however, I realized that my musical talents were far inferior to those of my contemporaries. I learned likewise that I lacked the 'knowledge' of folk music to talk authoritatively about it. Indeed, intuition tells me that the 'folk idea' often manifests in a 'field' and 'game', in the Bourdieuian sense. Akin to Straw's rejection of 'scene' as a "lazy synonym for globalized virtual communities of taste" (2002; 248), so we might easily suppose folk music to be an expressed *disposition* of taste; an expression of capital asset (Bourdieu, 1979; Prior, 2011; Rimmer, 2012; 2007)[28]. Indeed, it is one of the great contradictions of the folk movement that its ideological inclusivity (Richards, 1992) is contrasted by a necessary exclusivity, thereby

[27] The rapper dance is generally danced to 6/8 time 'jigs', often these are Northumbrian staples such as *The Moon and the Seven Stars* or other Irish alternatives.

[28] Pierre Bourdieu's position within cultural sociology means his influence is also prominent in sociologies of music and ethnomusicology. His concepts of cultural capital, field and habitus have been used to demonstrate how the social is involved in the production, reception and contexts of music making (Prior, 2011).

"creating geographies of inclusion and exclusion, [and] inviting communal identifications" (Revill, 2000; 610, quoted in Leonard, 2005; Hield, 2010). Niall Mackinnon (1993) extrapolates some of the colloquial requisites for success in *the field*. He notes for example, the prestige in finding a 'new-old song' unheard by others, or the appropriation of a song by an influential musician such that to play it, one may be met with a degree of disparagement (due to its new found popularity)[29]. Capital assets may be acquired then – the most obvious being repertoire (in either song or tunes), but also more oblique qualities such as musical competency, regional authenticity and familial ties - allowing one to navigate the field and compete in the complex ideological structures which govern, if not admittance and rejection, then status and authenticity, and these may be upheld, in Revill's words, by the "critical gaze of the folk circuit" (2005: 702).

'Communities', in their supporting and policing functions, have therefore been of primary concern to both ethnomusicologists and sociologists of music for some time (Barz, 2006; DeNora, 1999; 2000; 2003; Mattern, 1998; Shelemay, 2011)[30]. Ideas (and ideologies) of 'community' have also been a recurring theme in the English folk revivals (Bohlman, 1988; Feintuch, 2006; Finnegan, 1989; Leck, 2012; Mackinnon, 1993). Indeed, social interaction and the particular structures of socialization are central and identifying characteristics of folk music literature (Becker, 2008; Hield, 2010; Redhead & Street, 1998; Stebbins, 1992). It is worth note that my informal introduction to the 'folk scene' is a common one. Perhaps more importantly it was not only a novel form of "musical socialization" which I had joined but a "different form of socializing in which active musical performance and participation were integrated" (Mackinnon, 1993: 53). Folk's allure for me was, as in the words of Sam Richards', "Its exploration of social relationships, the mix of trained

[29] Interestingly, one can also enjoy success in reviving an 'old-old' song which, because others have shied away from its being perceived as 'over-sung', is actually seldom sung.

[30] As have virtual and cyber communities of musicians (Kibby, 2000; Waldren & Veblen, 2008).

and untrained, and its opportunities for performance" (1992: 71)[31]. Similarly, Leonard finds that the music also performs an important function as a "*means through which to share a social interaction*" with others (2005: 516, author's original emphasis). As Pickering and Green also suggest in their concept of vernacular culture, it is an "effort to create viable ways of life and coherent identities in relation to particular social conditions and circumstances" (1987: 12). Folk Music therefore forms an aspect of community in various ways, often reaffirming representations of the rural and challenging them. Music also appears to form a part of the personal and social identity of musicians (Conway & Borst, 2001; Leck, 2012; Leonard, 2005). Thus it is the socializing function of music – the interactions that occur in and around the social structures that produce it – these are of sociological interest (Christenson & Roberts, 1998; Mackinnon, 1993). The constructed nature of community allows for the group to present an identity to itself and to others, and likewise to draw boundaries between itself and others. Such 'community' as exists in this way, around some cultural affinity, is not objective – though it is rooted in the material - but 'imagined'. In the capacity for collectivized action, the 'imagined community' is made manifest through its enactment or performance (Anderson, 1983; Edensor, 2006; Woods, 2010). The concept regards even localized communities as 'imagined' constructs rendered credible to their putative members by a sense of commonality in attitude, belief and behavior and so forth (Cohen, 1985; Anderson, 1983).

In rural studies, community also has a long and conflicted history (Harper, 1989; Liepins, 2000a)[32]. The challenge of the thesis is to ameliorate a model for representing my case study community in manner which reflects the material/structural aspects of community's 'performance' – in the spaces and structures of music making - with the constructed/agential, *socially*

[31] As Richards (1992: 73) continues, "to bawl your head off in rough and ready harmony with a pub full of mates all intent on doing the same thing", is at least a part of folk song's appeal.

[32] So much so that the term has been questioned as to its practical usage (Young, 1990; Hoggart, 1990; Murdoch & Pratt, 1993).

constructed properties of the individual musician's attribution of 'meaning' and attachment to it. Moreover, such a model – outlined in chapter 2 – must also account for the embodied, practiced and experienced conditions of rural life. Ruth Liepins' (2000a) model for community, which I employ in chapter 4, therefore places emphasis upon individual subjectivity, treating community members as a heterogeneous collective who "constantly locate themselves in multiple positions and groups" (Liepins, 2000a: 30) in process of 'becoming' (Feintuch, 2006; Massey, 2005). The shared 'meaning' within a 'community of individuals' is contingent upon the mechanisms of its exchange, its structures of interaction, and those being inculcated in its construction. As 'mechanisms' by which socially constructed 'meanings' and 'knowledges' are exchanged, ceilidhs, sessions and sing-arounds – and their spatial settings - are the behaviours, social assemblages and material to which the 'community' attaches 'meaning'. Their roles are thus integral to the 'community' construction and the articulation of 'shared' values, beliefs and traditions. As such they are indicators of community's 'performance', on various 'stages', and as a performance of the rural likewise (Edensor, 2006)[33]. The stages for musical performance are also metaphorical stages for the 'performance of rurality' and this comparison allows me an interesting avenue to understandings of the relationships between rurality and folk music. Or, as Yarwood & Charlton (2009: 194) suggest,

> […] to understand the nature of folk music is to attempt to understand the dynamic, fluid and multi-experiential nature of the rural that gave birth to the music.

In the second analysis chapter of the thesis (chapter 5.), I turn to the role of folk music in place construction in Tarset. Employing Keith Halfacree's 'Three-fold model for rural space' (2006a), I contintue to bring the epistemological categories of material/ structural, constructed/agential, and

[33] In both analysis chapters I refer continually to Tim Edensor's (2006) 'performance' metaphor. This is a means to understand the often-competing presentations of 'the rural' amongst rural actors at the interesting nexus with performance of folk music.

practiced/experienced rural conditions to the analysis and to a discussion of musical place-making in Tarset.

1.4. Musical Places

Entering this complex field of discourses, being one of just a handful of my contemporaries native to the north East, able to cope with 'dialect songs' – and with a willingness to sing them - I quickly found that Northumbrian song would be my 'niche'; my folk identity. Of course in reality my interest was never so conscious or contrived. Neither was it without some sense of unease or inadequacy too, that neither my family nor I have ever been a part of the cultures who produced those songs – those of the community-that-was, and no longer seems to be. Indeed, I am perhaps the archetypal 'folkie' – someone introduced to folk music, perhaps appropriating it, perhaps only able to do so because of over one hundred years of middle-class revivalism (Leck, 2012). Nonetheless, singing songs, whether they be Northumbrian in the sense of a rural tradition, or Tyneside industrial and fishing songs, allows me, if not to construct, then to articulate or embellish some sense of identity in a social setting: In *performance of the self* (Goffman, 1959). That is, an identity that I *wish* to appear to others as bounded in locality. Why? Because one can accrue certain assets through performance: self and social-esteem, sense of identity, recognition, camaraderie and so forth (Cook, 1998; MacKinnon, 1993). As Leonard (2005) has shown, the performance of Irish traditional music in two English cities by second and third generation members of the Irish diaspora was an important public articulation of their 'Irishness'. This "informal and speculative behavior of music in performance", Frances Morton also argues in her ethnographic study of space and social practice in an Irish traditional music session, "could bring about *spaces and times that could never be repeated or retrieved*" (2005: 662, author's own emphasis; see also Dowling, 1996; Tansey, 1996). These 'temporal moments' can in turn induce

the important mnemonic aspect of musical performance, forming lasting associations between music and particular events, individuals and places (Leonard, 2005).

In this sense that it would be callous to suggest that folk music is merely an recreation of the past, as the revisionist literature describes it. Nor for that matter, that the folk construct merely invents 'the past' itself. My dialect allows me to sing songs my contemporaries would shy away from, but that is not only an act of preservation, or even appropriation, but of performance too; of all the liminal immediacy and vitality of the here and now of singing and playing. Indeed, for the greater part, I suggest that folk musicians do not tend to think of their practice in historical terms. This is in the sense in which Cook (1998) talks of music as not only remnants of an historical process, but as a liminal, performative space in which the experiencing 'self' is intimately bounded. Nonetheless it is the historicism implicit to folk music that is for me – and for my participants - a sincere, introspective attempt to find expression or connection with locality. Perhaps most rewardingly, singing Northumbrian songs helps me attain something of a 'sense of place'. Indeed, musical expression is dependent upon "a whole range of musical, paramusical and non-musical actions from which and through which it derives meaning" (Mackinnon, 1993: 1; Revill, 2012). In terms of folk music, these are popularly discourses of rurality, landscape, locality, and historicism. As Yarwood & Charlton (2009: 194) suggest:

> Music is important as a medium by which individuals develop personal attachments to a complex suite of emotions, experiences, and in many cases, places.

The second half of the thesis therefore turns to the '*where we come from'* of place-making, *genius loci*, and the associated concepts of rural landscape and space. Through the analysis I endeavor to illustrate the close relationship between the construction of community and the rural place, through music making. In these terms, Faye Hield (2010: 107) has argued:

> … Community is both a process and product of making places in which the sense of being in a group in a time and place emerge simultaneously and are mutually constitutive. Place making and the resultant sense of place are an essential part of how people experience community.

The association of music with specific places can therefore assist directly in the construction of identity (Husdon, 2006; Kong, 1995; Revill, 2000; Smith, 2000). Various scholars of tourism, ethnomusicology and cultural studies have paid attention to the ways in which music can form totemic associations with 'places' and become inculcated in their promotion (Connell & Gibson, 2003; Prior, 2011; Roberts, 2012; Shepherd *et al.*, 2005; Whiteley *et al.,* 2004)[34]. 'Place' likewise figures in scholarly ideas of folk music (Connell & Gibson, 2007; Hudson, 2005; Leonard, 2005). Indeed various areas of the literature express an interest in music and 'place' and its "potential to represent the lives, grievances and celebrations of those living in rural areas" (Yarwood & Charlton, 2009: 194; Hudson, 2006; Leyshon, Matless & Revill, 1995; Roberts, 2012). Indeed, after Susan Smith's call for music to become 'integral to the geographical imagination' (1994: 238), a certain body of literature by geographers and others has approached music, space and place in a variety of ways (Gill, 1993; Leyshon, Matless & Revill, 1995; Stokes, 1994; 2000). Much of this work engages with folk music from an assumption that it correlates directly with rural idyllicism; that there is a connection, imagined or otherwise, between folk music and the 'rural place'. Halfacree (2006b) for example, explores the counter-cultural nature of the folk discourse in the 1960s and the emergence of the 'folk festival' as a reaffirmation of the rural idyll. Kong (1995) also draws the conclusion that 'country' music in the United States can harbour symbolic evocations of rurality important both to the construction of what it is to be 'rural' and to the identities of those who inhabit it.

[34] The literature is particularly orientated towards urban centres (Keeling, 2012; Krims, 2007; Bennett & Peterson, 2004; Chambers, 1985; Cohen, 1991), with relative paucity concerning rural 'places' (Shelemay, 2011; Knox, 2008).

In rural studies, 'place', like 'community', also has a long history (Cresswell, 2012; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2006), and place attachments are a strong thread within this literature (Cheshire *et al.*, 2013; Mee & Wright, 2009; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Trudeau, 2006; Walsh, 2011). Likewise there has been interest in how representations of rurality contribute to the discourses and spatialities of every day lived experience (Cloke, 2003; Halfacree, 2006a; 2012). More recently literature on rural place making has been augmented by use of innovative media sources to reengage with the 'different discourses and spatialities' of the countryside (Edensor, 2006; Horton, 2008a; 2008b; Phillips *et al.* 2001; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). Halfacree (1993) argues that apprehending 'the rural' might be achieved by conceiving of it in two ways; as material 'locality' and as 'social representation'; as sign, signifier and signified. These Halfacree argues, are necessarily interwoven and coexistent, rather than mutually exclusive. Indeed, after Halfacree's (2006a) three-fold model for understanding rural spaces (see chapter 2), which draws heavily from Baudrillardian thought, I treat folk music as 'representation of rurality' both attached and disassociated from the materiality of its rural referent. This is particularly so when seen in conjunction with the politics and ideology of revivalist discourses, as well as wider cultural and media associations, which throughout the 19th and 20th centuries have cultured folk music as a uniquely pastoral idiom. As a representation of rurality therefore, folk music can be a valuable device by which to explore the inculcation of an historical idiom within the 'everyday lived experiences' of rural musicians and their relationships with place (Halfacree, 2006a; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009).

1.5. Research Questions

Northumbrian music then, as a symbol of 'Northumbria', has come to express for many, all the complex trappings that comprise 'place' (Feintuch, 2006; 1995). If 'authenticity' has become central to debates on the nature of folk music, this in turn becomes a discussion of 'place, community and nation' (Revill, 2005: 694). It is the abstract, indeed 'imagined', notions of 'place', 'identity' and 'community' – the '*where I come from*' - that preoccupy my thesis. With putative origins in the distinctive cultures of coalmining, shipbuilding, shepherding, and fishing; through periods of the utmost social upheaval; from pre-industry to post; world wars; nationalization and privatization; the demise of tight-knit, 'bound by common occupation' communities, who 'made their own entertainment' or found it at the music hall and hunt-supper, so 'Northumbrian music' is itself a curious kind of cultural artifact. It is into this complex field I contribute the following. I hope to reveal the ways in which sonic-geographies traverse multiple, material and imagined scales, both reinforcing and dissenting from the continuity assumed by revival discourses (Shelemay, 2011). Of the relationships between folk music, 'place' and 'community' I imagine a cultural landscape laid over a geographical one in which music and songs run over the terrain in 'musical-pathways' (Finnegan, 1989) or 'sonic geographies' (Matless, 2005). I shall show a cartography of Tarset's songs and tunes, suggesting that they actually exist as nodes to an 'imagined landscape' of varying scales as much as a physical one. Like streams and rivers, social networks collect as pools in village halls, in public houses in 'the micro-topographies of music making' (Cohen, 1993).

What role, therefore, does a music strongly associated with locality assume in both personal and social events, in individual and communal identities? To what extent then, does a complex Northumbrian folk construct express a 'sense of place' and identity to its rural practitioners in the 21st century? The research questions I have chosen to pursue are as follows:

1. How does folk music shape musicians' sense of 'community' in Tarset?

    a. Does engagement with folk music influence what 'community' means to musicians?
    b. How far do musical practices influence community cohesion and individual wellbeing?
    c. Do the particular social structures and physical spaces of musical events engender feelings of social inclusion or exclusion among musicians?

2. How does folk music shape a 'sense of place' in Tarset?

    a. Do representations of landscape in music detract from or strengthen any relationship between folk music and place?
    b. How far does localised music contribute to an identity of place?
    c. Do the historical associations of Northumbrian folk music have impetus in the everyday lives of musicians today?

Though the impact of social, historical and geographical structures has interested musical sociologists for some time (Blackstone, 2011; Marshall, 2011; Roy & Dowd, 2010), relatively few have approached music, community and place in the manner so done here; still less in a rural English case-study (see Shelemay, 2011). Although there have been additions to this literature, most notably DeNora's (2000) work on the motivations and benefits for individuals playing music together, there is still, however, considerable scope for marrying rural community and place studies with sociological understandings of folk music. Perhaps, as Niall Mackinnon noted in 1993, few sociologists feel competent to approach musical subjects without formal music training and so forth. As I argue in chapter 3, however, my own positionality as a folk singer renders me comfortable in such a field and has provided valuable insights perhaps inaccessible to a non-musician. Dissatisfied with the relative paucity of sociological studies into perceptions of folk music amongst

rural musicians, this thesis is an attempt to bring the tools of social enquiry to explore the socializing and identity defining functions of folk music in my case-study community of Tarset, Northumberland.

Uncovering the relationships and perceptions associated with music making and performance from a sociological perspective says little about traditional musicological interests – of musical theory, for instance – but it can tell us a great deal about the territorial relationships between music, community and place (Gibson & Connell, 2007; Long, 2013; Matless, 2005). Inherently, folk music is imbued with historicism and it is this notion of past and present, or 'past in the present' which makes the subject a particularly interesting area for investigation. If, as George Revill (2005: 701) claims, "vernacular culture may be the site for the production of spatial relations at a variety of scales", then

> … the intersection of folk culture and working-class experience, tradition and modernity that the vernacular may help us understand the forms of local music-making …

Exploring the intersection of the material landscape, its representation through folk music and its lived experience, the rural is seen as a significant material and imagined space. To this end, I employ Ruth Liepins' (2000a) model for approaching the Tarset 'community' (chapter 4) and Keith Halfacree's (2006a) 'threefold-model for rural space', to approach the Tarset 'place' (chapter 5). Thus, the geographical isolation and the topography of Tarset's upland landscape have been of particular interest to me, both in terms of its lived experience and its place in music making. Conducting my research in this rural Northumbrian parish, I have explored 'community' and 'place' in terms of musical production and locality amongst a small group of rural musicians.

At heart, then, the thesis is a sociological work, although the perspectives employed are necessarily varied, coming from such diverse literatures as rural studies, sociology, anthropology, musicology and so forth. As such I have been relatively unconcerned with the minutiae of musical typology, my knowledge of which is largely non-academic. Indeed, I feel sure my making relatively little by way of distinction between music (instrumental) and song,

would be a cardinal sin in the eyes of an ethnomusicologist, for example. However, having more often than not experienced the two together, I see no reason to narrow my focus to just one at the expense of rich data on the other[35]. In addition, the hybridized nature of folk music, most notably in Northumberland its inclusion of urban songs, means that imaginings of rurality must be challenged as much as affirmed in the analysis. Indeed, rather than attempt to define binaries between real and imagined ruralities, I have chose to regard folk music as a construct iteratively and relationally informed by lived rural experience. This is to show how scales of locality through regionalism to nation are present in a rural community's self-conception and identity. As Halfacree (2006a: 45) suggests:

> … it is much more than a question of scale that shapes 'rural', since each of these diverse spatial imaginaries also bears the imprint of practices of culture, contestation, commodification, etc.

I make no pretense to generalization or abstraction in my findings. Conclusions are based in the evidence gained through in depth work with a sample of seven self-defined folk musicians. I avoid overtly generalizing my empirical data, allowing those individuals to become the primary unit of analysis. In the following section I outline the structure of the thesis and its component themes.

1.6. Overview of the Thesis

In Chapter 2, Epistemological Stance, I state the theoretical approach of the research. The chapter will also contextualize the ways I have treated the literature so far in this Introduction, and the incorporation of my own experiences into the narrative. Chapter 2 therefore presents the ontological,

[35] Of course, the two do serve differing social functions; one cannot dance to a song just as one cannot sing along to a dance tune. Yet it is in that revival idea, the 'invented tradition' of the ceilidh that the two are often performed. And indeed, it is in that arena, the contemporary practice of historical music that most interests me sociologically.

epistemological, and theoretical debates that have informed my research design, situating it within historical and current debates both on the paradigms of social research – and particularly qualitative methods and ethnography – and the challenges faced by such approaches. Following a contextualizing discussion for the paradigms of rural studies and wider social theory (Theoretical context 2.1), in section 2.2 I describe, with reference to Pierre Bourdieu's 'theoretical vocabulary' of habitus and field, my hybrid rural approach: One that attempts to capture the advantages of structural/functionalism, social constructionism, and practiced/experienced approaches to the rural. In section 2.2 I then outline more fully how Liepins' (2000a) and Halfacree's (2006a) models complement each other and this approach[36].

In chapter 3, Methodology, I outline the methods I have used to collect and analyze the empirical data along the lines of a 'hybrid rural' approach (Cloke, 2006). The ethnographic methods I have employed – participant observation, depth interviews and filmmaking - triangulate in a coherent framework, revealing with nuance the research themes (Denzin, 1986). Each of these techniques I outline and discuss in the subsections of chapter 3.2. I also suggest that in research such as this, the subjective must be firmly foregrounded. For this reason I present my findings as inter-subjectivites, the consequence of my personal interactions with musicians in rural Northumberland. Frances Morton, in her case study of an Irish traditional music session in Galway, Ireland (2005) has shown how experimental ethnographies can incorporate the researcher's presence within an exploration of musical space and social practice. For this reason, as others have done so previously (see Cook 1998; Finnegan, 2003; Revill, 2005), I continually stress the importance of studying music by placing myself centrally within it's practice. Thus, in chapter 3.3, Performing Rurality: The

[36] Other elements of Foucauldian discourse theory are introduced to the discussion (Foucault, 1972; 1975; 1979) and presented in conjunction with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice where appropriate (1977; 1984; 1990).

Ethnographic Self, I present a case for the inclusion of my own field-notes and observations as valid forms of ethnographic data alongside that of other actors in the field (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Michael Woods (2010: 835) suggests our awareness of the 'self' of the researcher "has been articulated not only through ongoing innovation in methodological techniques, especially with respect to qualitative approaches" but also critical reflection of the "practice and positionality of being a rural researcher" (see Milbourne, 1998). I make pains to validate a stance that takes into account my own 'ethnographic self'. Being a musician, and this necessarily influencing my research positionality and aspects of my participation in Tarset events, I argue that my observations must be held as an ethnographic data source alongside that of my research participants (Stock & Chou, 1994). In section 3.4 I also discuss my use of observational filmmaking and 'The Long Meadow' (2013), the film that accompanies the written thesis (DVD appendiced). Following this, I outline the 'framework analysis' model, by which empirical data was coded (subsection 3.5).

Chapter 4, Folk Music & Community, is the first of two analysis chapters. Structured broadly around the three elements of Ruth Liepins' community model (2000a) – 'meanings', 'practices', and 'structures and spaces' – the chapter respectively treats these themes, whilst also showing their interconnected natures. After a brief introduction (4.1), section 4.2 therefore explores certain 'meanings' the Tarset community has for participants, the relevance of in-migrancy and middle class taste cultures in community attachment. I also examine the ways participants discursively construct a sense of 'bounded' identity, differentiating Tarset membership from other putative social groups. These themes are described as forms of 'elective belonging' and hinged around idealogical representations of rurality. I then discuss the particular role of hill farmer David McCracken as an 'authentic voice', and his song 'Walk with me', which engenders a proprietry sense of belonging in community music making. Section 4.2 therefore deals primarily with ideas of a discursive, socially constructed sense of community. In the second part of the chapter, 4.3, I turn to the 'practices' element of Liepin's

model, showing how the 'socializing functions' of participation in community musical events generate important senses of wellbeing and communality. Here ideas of social inclusion and exclusion generated by Tarset musical events are further developed, as are the ways in which a sense of community belonging is further engendered through musical participation. I also outline the roles of 'motivated individuals', showing how apparently informal rural perfromances are largely choreographed by powerful 'stage managers' (Edensor, 2006). The third analytical theme addresses what Liepins (2000a) calls the 'spaces and structures' in and through which community is performed. This leads in the final part of chapter 4, (4.4 Musical Structures and Spaces – Staging Community) to an observational analysis of the structures of community musical events, their often 'ritualistic' nature, and to discussion of the particular stages upon which these performances are played out. Section 4.4 is consequently a reflection upon material/structural aspects of the hybrid rural epistemology.

Chapter 5, The Place of Folk Music, is the second of the analysis chapters. The chapter is structured around Keith Halfacree's (2006a) threefold architecture for rural space, considering respectively the 'representations', 'localities', and 'lived experience' aspects of his model. In chapter 5.2, General Landscapes, I consider how mediated images of rurality recur continually in participants' own musical compositions, thereby inducing a sense of conformity, and authenticity, with an idiom that has become a 'signifier' for 'rurality' (Leonard, 2005). In this Braudrillardian conception (particularly 1983a, 1983b), the material object – landscape, for instance - is subsumed by cultural image and 'exchanged' as a commodity through the semiotics of musical performance (Perkins, 2006). However, in chapter 5.3, Particular Landscapes: Musical Places, I explore folk music's 'associative function', through memory and environment, with more distinctive material and imagined places. Here musical quotations and imitations of the Tarset landscape invoke a more profound sense of place attachment. In Chapter 5.4, Canny Shepherd Laddies: Land, Labour & Repertoire, I consider the changing role of shepherding, a putatively 'traditional' rural occupation, one

intimately associated with Northumberland's upland landscape, and one inextricable from the Northumbrian musical tradition. Much of the thesis therefore concerns my research participant, the 'singing shepherd' David McCracken, as the embodiment of the ideals of the Northumbrian discourse. More than this, however, chapter 5.4 also introduces an alternative means of analysis associated with more-than-representational approaches to the rural, exploring aspects of the corporeal in musical performance (Anderson *et al*., 2005; Thrift, 2007).

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis, reiterating its original contribution to the literature, revising the themes discussed, and suggesting possible new avenues for research.

Chapter Two: Epistemological Stance

Perhaps the most persistent debate in social ontology concerns the dominance of either structure or agency in shaping human behaviour. Structure focused theories consider the limiting effects of material and cultural elements within social systems upon human autonomy. Agency based theories emphasize individuals' capacity for free choice and action. Both are fundamental to a study such as this, encompassing as it does the physical conditions of landscape, the social structures of local music making, and the individual significance of community and place attachments. However, regarded as oppositional, structural and agential theories each offer only one side of an holistic epistemology necessary to approaching these themes. In the chapter I therefore present the theoretical, epistemological, and ontological discussions that have informed my methodology and movement towards a 'hybrid rural' approach (Cloke, 2006a). This approach attempts to reflect material/structural, constructed/agential, and practiced/experienced conceptualizations of the rural, and this through an ethnographic methodology and form. In the first part of the chapter, Theoretical Context (2.1), I provide an overview of these rural conceptualizations as they manifest in *structural-functionalist*, *social constructionist* and *more-than-representational* framings of the rural[37]. I show too how these trends reflect wider paradigm shifts in social theory. As a means to ameliorate the ontologically complicit effects of structures with agency, this leads in section 2.2, Towards a Hybrid Rural, to a discussion of Pierre Bourdieu's 'conceptual vocabulary' of field and habitus.

[37] I cannot hope to review nor represent such a broad corpus exhaustively here. Thus, an important fourth *political-economic* paradigm is relegated to the footnotes of section 2.1.1. Moreover, as Panelli (2006) has shown, placing distinctions between 'past' and 'contemporary' literature can only artificially sequence initiatives that are rarely theoretically isolated from one another. Nonetheless, for ease of clarity, I choose to paint a broad picture of the changing approaches to the rural as outlined by Paul Cloke in his chapter in *the Handbook of Rural Studies* (2006), using this to illustrate my own epistemological stance.

These ideas are implemented in the analysis by two frameworks: Ruth Liepins' (2000a) model for rural community, and Keith Halfacree's (2006) 'three-fold model' for rural space. These conceptual models, outlined in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 - and which I employ in analysis chapters 4, Folk Music & Community, and 5, Folk Music & Place, respectively - are a potential means to overcome the structure/agency dichotomies apparent in earlier framings of the rural, and a provident avenue towards a fourth rural hybrid model.

2.1. Theoretical Context

Paul Cloke (2006a) provides an historical précis of three core theoretical approaches to conceptualizing ruralities, which also reflect wider paradigmatic shifts in social theory. The first Cloke identifies as a broadly 'structural-functionalist' school. The second 'socially constructed rural' represents movements towards multiple and contested discourses of rurality. The final paradigm is reflected by recent nonrepresentational (Thrift, 2007) and more-than-representational (Carolan, 2008) approaches. These explore corporeal and phenomenological aspects of rural life in tandem with the materiality and representations of the former schools. I shall now sketch the tenets of each in turn before iterating their implications for a hybrid rural epistemology.

2.1.1. *Structural-functionalism and the 'First Rural'*

Genealogies of structuralism commonly begin with Ferdinand de Saussure's studies of linguistics, extending through the anthropologies of Levi-Strauss and socio-cultural writings of Roland Barthes, Louis Althusser and Jacques Lacan. Particularly popular in the 1960s, the tenets of structuralism are rooted

in what Denzin and Lincoln (1994) have termed the 'traditional' (c. 1900 to 1945) and 'modernist' (1940s to 1970s) periods of social theory. British sociologist-ethnographers then supposed that, through immersive - though emotionally detached – fieldwork, a naturally existing rural society could be identified, mapped, and even critiqued (Fuller, 1999; Panelli, 2006; see for example, Pahl, 1963; 1965; 1966; 2005). The framing accords with what Michael Bell (2007: 408) has termed the 'first rural':

> … the rural everyone knows as rural, and what we typically regard as prior: the epistemology of rural as space, as lower population density, as (at times) primary production, as nature, as non-urban which is so plain to see – the *material moment* of the rural.

The rural in this period is geographically located, often in opposition to the urban, and seen primarily as a space of agrarian productivity. The approach therefore rationalizes structural combinations of political, economic, cultural and social factors in the functioning constitution of rural societies (Barnard, 2000; Willis, 2007). Early British community studies tend to adhere to these principles (see Harper, 1989[38]). Social exchanges, in the works of Arensberg & Kimballs (1940), Rees (1950), Williams (1956), and Frankenberg (1957), for instance, are viewed structurally; the individual is "enmeshed" within "networks of kinship" based upon notions of family, friendship, proximity, and neighborliness (Frankenberg, 1966:50). As Savage *et al.* (2005) suggest neighborliness and social life are also seen as central to place attachment. Functionally, the economic necessity of cooperation explained the normative, conservative, social and economic equilibrium described by these works (Harper, 1989; Rees, 1950). Genealogical and economic stability, for instance, are acquired by place bound stasis and continuity (Cheshire *et al.*,

[38]Sarah Harper's *The British Rural Community: an Overview of Perspectives* (1989) performs the historiographic task of interpreting and representing the progress of early 'community' scholarship. Whilst the writing of such accounts is a complex process of authorial 'inclusion and 'exclusion' (Phillips, 1998; Rose, 1995) – and Harper's overview has influenced many subsequent perceptions of 'community' studies in rural studies – it is referenced here as a valuable introduction to 'community' perspectives when such an in-depth review is beyond the remit of this study.

2013). Structural approaches also describe moralistic communities (Sleznick, 1992). A challenge to the boundary of a shared and historicised sense of social propriety– a "departure from moral rules" (Frankenberg, 1966: 50) – may see, for instance, a collective remonstration against the offender, as in the functional role of young men in Llanfihangel, exercising social control by ridicule (Rees, 1950: 83), or the collective disassociation of kinship from a criminal within the network, as in Williams (1956). Thus kindred-ness and control provide economic securities through a "continuous network of reciprocities" (Rees, 1950: 94), where "even a business transaction is a social event" (Frankenberg, 1966:51) and maintains social order in the 'community unit' with its shared moral values (ibid: 78).

This essentialist conception of rural communities held currency during the 20-year period of 'rural equilibrium' following Arensberg and Kimballs' (1940) insular study in rural Southern Ireland (Dewey, 1960; Harper, 1989). Structural/functional framings of the rural, however, have been criticized firstly, and in terms of community studies, for over-emphasizing the role of social structures in accounting for attachments to community and place. By drawing politically hegemonic (or proto-hegemonic) representations of rurality, the corpus presents social network and class as shoring up the power structures of putative 'traditional' communities (Woods, 1997; 2005b). Their functions (after Émile Durkheim, see Gain, 2001) uphold homogenous, relatively stable social structures (Harper, 1989; Liepins, 2000a; Wright, 1992). Ferdinand Tonnies' (1955) *Gemeinschaft* is taken as the epitome of the rural community in this period (Harper, 1989; Pahl, 1965)[39]. The later rural 'continuum' model

[39] Weber made clear that he was expressing community in terms of idealised systems; indeed both Weber and Durkheim devised analytic constructs rather than empirical analogues (Cohen, 1985). Likewise, Tonnies intended the dichotomous association of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft as analytical devices and noted that their characteristics may be found in all types of social structures.Tonnies' idealised Gemeinschaft, that 'truly human and supreme form of community', emphasises the binding of people to place by structural forms of mutual understanding, sentimentality, hope, aspiration, belief and emotion (Tonnies, 1955). Unfortunately, Cloke (2006) suggests, much of this empirical work founded upon a now debunked 'rural-urban continuum', often

(Pahl, 1968), in which the ideas of Gemeinschaft and its urban alternative, *Gesellschaft*, are inculcated, are also flawed because the arbitrary spatial boundaries and indicators they suggest are founded in idealized conditions (Bell & Newby, 1971; Carlson *et al.*, 1981; Cloke, 1977; Lee & Newby, 1983; Lewis & Maund, 1979; Newby 1978; Williams, 1963). Cloke (2006: 18) argues this rural metanarrative also pits the distinction and delineation of the rural as "significantly vested in its opposition to the urban" without sufficient substantiation (see also Murdoch & Pratt, 1995). Yet, as Hoggart shows (1990: 245), "since intra-rural differences can be enormous and rural-urban similarities can be sharp", later 'community' theories have tended to reject these simplistic, idealized circumstances (Halfacree, 2012; Liepins, 2000a; Urbain, 2002). Thus, "… any belief in a town versus country divide can be seen as ideological," Halfacree (2012:388) suggests, "since it both denies and confuses understanding of the spatiality of modern capitalism" [40].

Secondly, and in the broader context of social theory, structural/functional accounts are critiqued for neglecting the agency of individuals (Ostrow, 1981: 302). In Durkheimian and Marxist coloured theories, the autonomy of the individual is subjugated by the power of the superstructure (Burr, 2003).

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in reference to Ferdinand Tonnies' *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinshcaft* (Dewey, 1960, see Pahl, 1965).

[40] The second, closely related paradigm identified by Cloke (2006a) is represented by *politico-economic* concepts, used to conceptualize rurality in terms of capitalist modes of production (Cloke, 2006a). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s this approach increasingly sought to analyze the rural through the interconnectedness of national and international economic and agricultural policy, which were seen to operate on an aspatial basis (Marsden, 2006; Woods, 2012). The spatial basis for the rural was therefore destabilized as scholars considered sectoral research projects that transgressed the rural/urban distinctions founded in the functionalist approach. This was such that some even proposed to 'do away with the rural' (Hoggart, 1988; 1990; Murdock & Pratt, 1993). Furthermore, political-economy modes, which continue simultaneously focus upon agricultural productivity as the central facet of both rural spaces and communities, have been criticised for merely conflating rurality with agriculture in order to overcome the difficult conceptual issues raised by the increasing lack of distinction between urban and rural (Urbain, 2002; Mormont, 1987; Cloke, 2006a).

Thirdly, as Harper (1987: 309) suggests, structural-functionalism has "consistently neglected the subjective aspect of the evolving reciprocal relationship between rural settlement and its inhabitants". Finally, being typically associated with positivistic epistemologies, structuralist accounts likewise seek to omit or negate researcher bias, inadequately acknowledging the subjective aspects of purportedly 'objective' science[41]. Under the 'sociological zeitgeist' of the 1960s, *experience-near* observation was said to provide prescient, *experience-distant* conclusions (Pahl, 2005)[42]. In other words, an idea persisted that the detail of everyday life could be experienced first-hand by a researcher and the collated datasets would culminate in a picture of the variety of 'life in Britain' (Wright, 1992). As we shall see, this ethos has been condemned by the 'postmodern critique'. Indeed, of the

[41] Criticisms against positivism, as an ontological position, and against the methods of the 'natural sciences', are not always distinct (Bryman, 2012). For Our purposes I take positivism as representative of the largely objectivist nature of natural science methods, and the perspective of the modernist period. For an in depth discussion of positivism see Turner (2001). The idea that there is a fundamental set of principles, which, once discerned, provide the foundation of inquiry, knowledge and essential order of things, allowed the conception of the ethnographic 'other', and this with little recognition of the 'self' of the ethnographer, and their *positionality*, against whom any 'other' is implicitly constructed (Denzin, 1986; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Only latterly has the assumption of researcher proximity, or *experience-nearness*, to the actuality of a "highly complex structure of definite roles, relationships and behaviour" (Pahl, 1964:9) been critiqued as 'illusory' (Pahl, 2005). Thus, "those carrying out these studies were trapped in their own internal perceptions of 'community'" (Ibid: 633). As the allure of 'community' has ensured its survival to the present, its continuance can only be made possible by consciously distinguishing "our knowledge of what a community is from what we would like it to be" (Day, 1998: 236).

[42] This illustrates classical ethnographic anthropology in the Malinowskian tradition (O'Neill, 2012). From its origins in 19th century ethnologies, the classification of culture as manifest in material artefacts and a conception of the 'primitive' - which persisted as late as the colonial expeditions of anthropology in the mid 20th century (Gobo, 2008). Tokenized in the traditional & modernist periods by the positivistic inclinations of sociology and anthropology, ethnographers perpetrated an *occularcentric* break from ethnology, literally in the first-hand empiricism of 'seeing for one's self' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Grimshaw, 2001). This was achieved by the ethnographer necessarily being an 'outsider' to whom the nuances of culture would be more immediate (Gobo, 2008: 9).

criticisms leveled at early community studies, perhaps the most interesting is, therefore, and with the benefit of hindsight, that we might discern in them images implicit to the researchers' personal conceptualizations of rurality (Wright, 1992). That is, community constructed and normalized by both the actors *and* the researchers. Indeed, Crow (2008) suggests, the methodologies and theoretical frameworks were frequently poorly described, making comparative analyses between studies difficult. Likewise, Pahl (2005: 622) regrets, the problem now, "is to determine whose illusion is valid".

Nonetheless, features of this *first rural* - social structures, practices, and physical spaces – do reflect my own concerns, namely how material/ structural aspects of community and place may give an overarching estimation of rurality (Bell, 2007). Methodologically, I have attempted to access and understand the social structures of community music-making in Tarset through an ethnographic approach, and particularly the techniques of participant observation (see chapter 3.1.2). However, structural-functionalism – and perhaps more importantly the latent positivism associated therewith - is antithetical to the now ubiquitous *interpretive*, rather than *deductive,* epistemologies of ethnography (Bryman, 2012; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In the literature, community as a grouping of individuals has shifted from a discrete, homogenous and systematized object, towards more 'post-structuralist' modes. These recognize communities and places as complex arrangements of material and social relations (Day, 1998; Liepins, 2000a; 2000b). Whilst structural-functionalist perspectives treat community as "a term signifying a particular social arrangement" and "one generally fixed in terms of both the form and function it would take"; the interpretive approaches instead seek "to demonstrate the reality of the term [community] through the careful recounting of `authentic' lived experiences and relationships" (Liepins, 2000a: 2).

Consequently, proponents of qualitative research in the 1970s re-principled their paradigms against the proscriptions of the positivist moments (e.g. Dallmayr & McCarthy 1977; Rabinow & Sullivan, 1979). To social science,

whose subjects are akin to the humanities, but whose methods had hitherto emulated the natural sciences (Brewer, 2000) there arose a disillusioned view of modernist rationality and purportedly universal epistemic standards (Weinberg, 2014). One of the key departures in the mid-1980s instigating this shift was the *Writing Culture* moment (Marcus, 2007a), which leads to Denzin & Lincoln's (1994) 'Blurred Genres' (1970s to 1986) and 'Crisis of Representation' (1986 - present) periods. In a series of critical texts, Geertz (1973; 1980; 1988), Clifford and Marcus (1986), Clifford (1988) and Rosaldo (1988) did much to deconstruct the positivistic premises of social theory, rejecting the four columns of the modernist period: *objectivism*, *imperialism*, *monumentalism*, and *timelessness* (Willis, 2007). Their methods expose claims to objectivity as grounded in the 'rhetoric of reportation' (Feyeraband, 1998; see also Crick, 1982; Grimshaw & Hart, 1995). "Truth", Veyne (2010: 14) tells us, "is reduced to *telling the truth*"; the confirmation of what is accepted as truthful. This might be described as the metanarrative of early 'community' studies, a process of construction producing unitary, discrete and coherent understandings of supposedly 'real' phenomena which seem to have been "*imagined* in the process of research and theorisation" (emphasis added, Liepins, 2000a: 26). Or what Newby describes as

> […] a skillful blend of normative prescription and wishful thinking rather than empirical description" (quoted in Harper, 1989: 164).

Because the social world is a product of social processes, constructed through social interaction and terrains of discourse, there can be no pre-given or essential nature to 'reality' (Gergen, 1985; 1999; Cresswell, 2012). Social constructionists are consequently concerned with an *ontological pluralism* – or 'plural realism' as Dreyfus puts it (1991: 262; Lock & Strong, 2010) – and the many knowledge objects that compete for precedence in society at any given moment. This ontological admission necessitates a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge including knowledge of ourselves as researchers and the truth claims we produce (Flick, 2008; Bourdieu, 1977). The power of (natural-) scientific discourse, in its "impeccable neutrality" (Bourdieu, 1980: 226; 1979: 12), is challenged therefore, and with it the efficacy of the methods

of natural science to qualitative paradigms (Howe, 2005; Latham, 2003; Lather, 2004; Thrift, 2000). Indeed, it is the insight of the postmodern critique that leads to reconsideration of the roles of narrative, voice, experience and authorship and the contingency of the socially constructed 'second' rural (Bell, 2007; Cloke, 2006).

2.1.2. *Social Constructionism and the 'Second Rural'*

These developments also radicalized approaches to ethnographic methods. Concern with the technical issues of achieving validity has now shifted towards epistemological debate over the very nature of 'knowledge' (Brewer, 2000; O'Reilly, 2012). As Harper (1998: 31) argues, ethnography must now be thought of as a "created tale, which describes reality more successfully if it does not attempt to fulfill the impossible and undesirable (for ethnography) standards of science". Ethnographic writing must therefore interpret 'understanding', rather than deduce 'explanation' (Geertz, 1988; Gobo, 2008; Lock & Strong, 2010; Willis, 2007). Hence, qualitative paradigms in the 'blurred genres' moment of the 1980s (Denzin, 1994) came to embrace a *postmodern* rationality, rejecting *essentialism* (Lyotard, 1984; Packer, 2011; Weinberg, 2014)[43]. Indeed, by and large the periods reflect an intellectual dissatisfaction with a conception of knowledge founded upon trans-historical, a-historical or transcendental truths (Foucault, 1979; Rorty, 1979; Veyne, 2010). Today, few ethnographers argue in terms of positivist 'evidence', preferring instead postmodern languages of experience, emotion, events, processes, performances, narratives, poetics and the 'politics of possibility' (Madison, 2005). Indeed, the influence of postmodern and post-structural thinking saw the further eschewal of positivist and normative approaches to

[43] The now pejorative term, 'essentialist', is, Spinoza and Dreyfus (1996: 735) assert, "a charge against any thinker's work whenever the thinker takes his or her categories to be more stable than the imposition of temporary political tactics".

rural studies from the 1990s onwards. Then British and US academies were reinvigorated by Continental discourse theories that questioned 'meanings' of rurality and the social disparities competing within them (Jones, 1995; Liepins, 2000a; Pratt, 1996; Woodward, 1996). This is notably iterated in Mormont's (1990: 41) assertion that "the rural is a category that each society takes and reconstructs, and that this social construction, with all its implications, defines the object of a sociology of the rural" (see Phillips *et al*. 2001; Woods, 2012)[44].

Although there is no single school of constructionism, it being, as Lock and Strong describe it 'a broad church', there are common tenets that "hold it together" (2010: 6). Certainly, the impetus of this social constructionist thinking – and the 'swing-to-the-cultural' (Smith, 2007) – is, broadly speaking, to deconstruct modernist 'metanarratives', emphasizing instead a variety of situation-dependent forms of truth, including scientific objectivity itself (Burr, 2003; Lock & Strong, 2010). That is to say, all knowing is subjective and, as Hufford suggests, "the 'objective world' is what knowers claim to know about it" (1995: 58; Winch, 1958). Conceptions of the rural from the 1990s onwards are frequently treated as discursive constructs and representations (Frouws, 1998; Greider & Garkovich, 1994; Horvadas & Stamou, 2006), in short, as social constructions (Carolan, 2008). The social constructionist framing outlined by Cloke (2006: 21), therefore draws upon this radically different philosophical foci, engaging with "an emerging core of significance in rural studies which focuses on the interconnections between socio-cultural constructions of rurality". Social constructionism, often held synonymous with *Interpretivism* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Mertens, 2010), regards socio-cultural constructs and what we claim to know about them as historically specific forms of knowledge, or 'discourses' (Burr, 2003; Gergen, 1985; Lock & Strong, 2010; see also Foucault, 1972). Interpretivism and social constructionism consequently highlight the contingency of 'proofs' and the entities demonstrable by them. This, Halfacree suggests, has rejuvenated

[44] Other notable works in this moment include *Constructing the Countryside* (Marsden *et al.*, 1993) and *Contested Countryside Cultures* (Cloke & Little, 1997).

rural studies somewhat, as seemingly 'anachronistic' "ontological considerations of rural *being*" (2012: 389, emphasis added) are replaced by "epistemological questions of '*knowing*' rurality". Again, we might loosely accord this framing with what Bell (2007: 408) has termed the *idea moment* of the 'second rural':

> … the rural we have trouble knowing, and what we typically regard as a secondness, even when we do know it: the epistemology of rural as place, as unconfined to the lower population density space; as (at times) consumption, as socionature, as meanings which we may never unambiguously see – the *ideal moment*.

The socially constructed rural therefore considers the "fascinating world" of social, cultural and moral values attributed to rurality, rural spaces and rural life (Cloke, 2006a: 21). In this 'cultural turn' (Rose, 2001: 5) sociologists have made a paradigmatic shift away from structural-functionalist approaches to understanding social behavior and, in doing so, taken on innovative methods as a means, if not to accurately describe society, then at least to represent the ways in which individuals and groups construct social life through their practices (Hall, 1990; Schembri & Boyle, 2012). Approaches to community in this interpretive paradigm, associated with ethnographic methods, seek to document and represent the existence and practice of community (Harper, 1989; Liepins, 2000a). Early pioneers in this approach were Bell and Newby (1971; 1976) whose theory of 'community of feeling' promotes the importance of subjective understandings in explaining community actions (Crow, 2008). A plethora of post-productionist frameworks for rural space also arise in this period (Halfacree, 2007), placing rurality as a constructed interface between society and nature (Braun & Castree, 1998; Irwin, 2001; Macnaughten & Urry, 2000; Tovey, 2003). Community and rurality are therefore seen as variously and continuously negotiated constructions, existing subjectively in the minds of agents (Day 1998; Cloke *et al*., 1997; Goodwin et al., 1995); rural societies are socio-cultural constructs, landscapes and 'texts' within which multiple and changing identities, meanings and values are conferred (Panelli, 2006; Perkins, 2006; Rapport, 1993; Woods, 2006). Subjectivity and space, in this framing, are simultaneously real, imagined and symbolic (Longhurst, 2003;

see Duncan, 1996; Greider & Garkovich, 1994; Keith & Pile, 2003; Pile & Thrift, 1995; Phillips *et al*. 2001)[45].

The modernist epistemologies of positivism and essentialism employed in *structural-functionalist* and *politico-economic* rural works, however, continue to haunt such interpretive and qualitative paradigms, which have sought to break with broader 'scientific' endeavor and science-state relations (Panelli, 2006; Willis, 2007; Packer, 2011)[46]. Denunciation of positivist access to objective

[45] Associated with this paradigm, Liepins (2000a) also identifies an important 'symbolic-constructionist' school of community studies, closely related to the social constructionist approach (see Cohen, 1982; 1985). Whilst shared collective attitudes may be perceived between community members, the 'meanings' attached to those symbols by individuals may be quite varied. More fluid than structuralist models, for example, and indeed lacking discreet boundaries, insofar as the 'imagined community' is real to its membership, it is extant in their behaviors. Thus the imagined community (Anderson, 1983), constructed and bounded by symbols of commonality (Cohen, 1985), places the subject firmly within the sociological impetus upon the ways behaviors, experience, attitude and so forth are consolidated in the behaviors and social interactions of individuals. It is for this reason that the search for 'meaning' is an interpretive process to which qualitative methods, and particular ethnography, lend themselves. The upshot of this is to take from Anthony Cohen's (1985) assertion that 'community' is a mode of experience that has meaning for those who consider themselves members of it. And from Benedict Anderson (1983), not to distinguish any truth or falsity in claims to community, but to explore the styles in which it is 'imagined'.

[46] Neo- and postpostivist stances, with their commitment to "valid, reliable, and objective interpretations" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994:7), remain ingrained in the self-conception of qualitative paradigms and their struggle for legitimacy (Miles & Huberman, 1994a; 1994b). Thus forms of *naturalism* in the 1960s and 1970s (see Lofland, 1967; Blumer, 1969; Denzin, 1971; Guba, 1978) sought to regain scientific legitimacy through employing the methods of natural science to observe subjects, though with sensitivity to natural 'settings' and 'phenomena' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Naturalist and neo- & postpositivist stances, however, tend seek knowledge of the object without reference to the knowing subject. The pursuit of methods to achieve this have been railed as 'methodolatry' (Rubinstein, 1991). As Atkinson and Delamont (2006:701) bemoan, "We are appalled by the absurd proposal that interpretive research should be made to conform to inappropriate definitions of scientific research. ... Equally disturbing is the argument that qualitative research should not be funded if it fails to conform to these criteria". The posturing of logical positivism, the affectation of 'detached neutrality' and 'disinterested knowledge', are levelled in terms of an 'ontological prohibition' upon 'gold standard research' (Packer, 2011). Denzin (2009) has illustrated this ongoing

facts, and the rejecting of a rationalist presumption of a universally valid epistemology, leaves the interpretive paradigm in a difficult position: Captured by Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) summation of the current position of qualitative theory, stuck, they suggest, in a 'triple crisis' of representation, praxis and legitimation. The crisis of representation concerns the inability for ethnographic writing to present anything other than the context of its own composition (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Willis, 2007). In this sense ethnographic knowledge is equally as subservient to discursive influence and relationships of power as any other (Bourdieu, 2003; Weinberg, 2014). Thus, with the constructionist inextricability of language and power, many postmodern writings have questioned whether ethnographic representation can be anything other than a social artifact too[47]. The postmodern writings of the 'writing culture' moments have therefore done much to expose the 'linguistic trickery' of positivist texts. They do little, however, to redress the dilemma of reconciling the production of tenable epistemic standards with a thoroughly empirical regard for the processes through which that production takes place. This is the conceptual conundrum and 'spiral of relativity' that problematizes social constructionism (Burr, 2003). The denunciation of ethnographic writing as 'poetics and politics' (Clifford & Marcus, 1986), from the positivist standpoint against which it reacts in the first instance, has potential to bring the enterprise to a halt (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997). George Marcus (1998: 393), for example, suggests that the postmodernist referent comes down to the ""Sign" of reflexivity-how much of it (if any) and in what form should it appear in ethnographic work"? This conundrum has been also described as

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struggle with the 'evidence-quality-standards' discourse set by political agenda in the USA and UK (see Feuer et al. 2002; Lather, 2004).

[47] Indeed, in this broader dialogic contextualization, the article of research itself must be seen as on-going beyond its completion (England, 1994). Literary analysis and reception theory have shown how we cannot precisely determine how ethnographic texts will be read (Iser, 1979; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). In this way, the approach is also an invitation to the reader, to challenge the subtexts of dominant meanings within the narrative (Thomas, 1993). The historically and culturally specific nature of knowledge means every historical or sociological object is a 'singularity' (Veyne, 2010: 11).

the ‘problem of reflexivity’ (Šikić-Mićanović, 2010: 45) and leads us inevitably to Hufford’s (1995: 59) summation that “Reflexivity, then, can be triumphal. It can also be defeatist, lapsing into the infinite regress of reflections on reflections”.

Thus, although seen by some as a threat to the foundations of social research (Boudon, 2004) – in the looming ‘vertigo of relativity’ (Lock & Strong, 2010) - social constructionism is to others “an indispensible feature of all social scientific work” (Weinberg, 2014: 1). Reflexivity has been held as the best means to make transparent the problems inherent in ethnographic representation. It is a battle in conceptual nexus against essentialist science, and one that has hitherto “generated more heat than light” (Lock & Strong, 2010: 8). Yet qualitative research has, according to Martin Packer (2011: 3), great potential to address this imbalance:

> This potential is, I believe, profound. Attention to the human forms of life, to the subtle details of people’s talk and actions, to human bodies in material surroundings, can open our eyes to unnoticed aspects of human life and learning, unexplored characteristics of the relationship between humans and the world we inhabit, and unsuspected ways in which we could improve our lives on this planet[48]

Again, tenets of the constructionist framing are relevant to my own interests, for instance the construction and contestation of the ‘rural idyll’ (Bell, 2006; Blackstock *et al*., 2006; Bunce, 1994; 2003; Mingay, 1989; Short, 2006); the commoditization of rural images (Bell, 2006; Cloke, 1997); and the reproduction of the rural through media forms (Hidle, *et al*., 2006; Juska, 2007; *Phillips et al*., 2001). These in effect point to a more discourse-based approach (Woods, 2009). Discourses are intimately related to notions of power and practice, they are “practices which form the objects of which they speak”

[48] In chapter 3.1, Performing Rurality: The Ethnographic Self, I argue the case for a ‘triumphal’ reflexivity through ethnographic self-reflection, whilst in the conclusion to this chapter, I begin to intimate an axiology based less on positivistic foundations, and more upon ideas of creativity. My observational film ‘The Long Meadow’ is an means to support this ethic.

(Foucault, 1972: 49). Human behavior and belief reside in the interstices of powerful 'macro' discursive formations and the relational, 'micro' embeddedness of individual thought and action (Downing, 2008; Gergen, 1999; 2009). As Burr (2003: 63) summarizes,

> … macro social constructionism emphasizes the way that the forms of language available to us set limits upon, or at least strongly channel, not only what we can think and say, but also what we can do or what can be done to us.

Social constructionism is therefore interested in "delineating the social processes that operate in the social-cultural conduct of action to produce the discourses within which people construe themselves" (Lock & Strong, 2010: 7). The power of 'discourse' resides in the associations between material, social and cultural structures; the influence upon social practices through those structures; and the capacity to 'mask' the inequalities of social practice (Burr, 2003; Foucault, 1972; 1976; 1979; Veyne, 2010). Indeed, an appeal of the social constructionist framing is that it need not dismiss the 'reality' of the material/ structural world (Bell, 2007). Rather, constructionist paradigms go some way to diminishing the philosophical distance between the subjective and the objective[49]. As Mills (1997: 51) notes, the material world exists, yet discourses narrow one's vision of it, "to exclude a wide range of phenomena from being considered as real or worthy of attention, or as even existing". This blinkered view inevitably leads to contestation over what phenomena are worthy of attention, no less within the academic field itself (Altheide & Johnson, 1994; Bourdieu, 2003). Social constructionism therefore questions how far our comprehension of 'the real world' can exist outside of the discourses we use to structure our understandings. That is, "knowledge of the world is not to be understood as the simple portrayal of given facts" (Flick, 2008: 70), for, we might surmise, such a superficial observation is likely to misconstrue discursive structures which are 'dressed' as facts, as reflecting

[49] Feminist and poststructuralist writings have both reconfigured understandings of the social world away from those of neopositivist empiricism, denying the epistemological security ensured by the strict dichotomy between object and subject (England, 1994).

some reality. If, as Rapport suggests (1993: 39), the seemingly sameness of categories of description found in modernist works (rural, community, kinship based) disguised a possible diversity of social relations, then the *politics of discourse* in the second rural have also lead rural studies toward a range of innovative critiques of power relations (Bell, 2007; Murdoch & Marsden, 1997; Murdoch & Pratt, 1993). Rural scholarship now highlights social inclusion/exclusion (Milbourne, 2006; Shucksmith, 2012; Sibley, 2006); issues of sexuality and gender (Bell, 1995; Bell & Holliday, 2000; Little, 2003); and making visible invisible 'others' (Cloke, 2006b; Cloke & Little, 1997; Halfacree, 1993; Milbourne, 1997; Philo, 1992). The impact of social constructionism upon a qualitative methodology is admittance that interviews, participant observations and so forth, bear witness to the texts by which people construe themselves (Potter & Edwards, 1999). Methodologically, I have approached the micro level, 'significant realities' of the individual musician – and the constructed/agential nature of rural experience (Fitzpatrick, Secrist & Wright, 1998) – in part through the depth interview (for discussion, see chapter 3.2.3).

However, as much as there are persuasive arguments which continue to make it an alluring paradigm to the social scientist, so there are critiques aligned at social constructionism that challenge the very core of the modern qualitative project (Galani-Moutafi, 2013). Apart from problems of validity, the effect of this framing, Woods (2009) argues, has also been to sideline the valuable insights provided by its predecessor; to neglect the ways in which material/structural settings do indeed condition individual experience in pre-cognitive, embodied ways, and how material ideas of the first rural come to play upon the constructedness of the second (Bell, 2007; Day, 1998). With its emphasis upon the discursive power terrains through which ideas of rurality are produced and reproduced, the paradigm tends to neglect material dimensions and structural conditions as they are manifest in the lived-experiences of those occupying rural spaces (Edensor, 2006; Woods, 2010). This despatializing tendency in social constructionism, as Carolan (2008: 408) laments, presents the rural as "… products of a mind devoid of corporeality

[…] a reflection of non-physical symbols, tethered only to the values, beliefs, and culturally inscribed mental constructs of those speaking the term into existence". Secondly, agent-focused theory encourage the more or less implicit assumption that all community associates have the knowledge and capacity to recognize, critique and support or resist common meanings and symbols (Liepins, 2000a). "As a result", Calhoun *et al.* suggest (2002: 260), "subjectivist approaches commonly present social life as much less structured, and much more contingent, than it really is because it tends to miss the cultural or material constraints that shape people's actions" (see also Carolan, 2005)[50]. Moreover, emphasis upon discourse can appear to replace those structural constraints with discursive ones, subsuming individual agency into deterministic systems power (Weinberg, 2014): actions and subjects may seem mere causal outcomes of historical process (O'Reilly, 2012). Critiquing the experimental ethnographic forms which succeeded during Denzin & Lincoln's 4th moment in qualitative practice, and the advent of the crisis in ethnographic representation (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Rosaldo, 1988; Geertz, 1988), Pierre Bourdieu (2003: 282) surmises on the now unavoidable element of socio-scientific praxis:

> …science cannot be reduced to the recording and analysis of 'pre-notions' (in Durkheim's sense) that social agents engage in the construction of social reality; it must also encompass the social conditions of the production of these pre-constructions and of the social agents who produce them

One way in which the problem may be overcome is to maintain elements of the structural and agential schools in a 'hybrid rural' approach. Thus despite 'community' being an individual subjectivity it is also informed by the transference of 'meaning' between one individual and another in social transaction and within structured physical and discursive spaces (Leipins, 2000a; 2000b). No matter what the individuality of 'community', it requires a

[50] Again, as positivism does not necessarily equate to objectivity, neither do poststructuralism, constructionism and so forth necessarily infer subjectivism. Nonetheless, as emphasis on subjectivity and interpretation are essential components of these paradigms, for ease of understanding they may be regarded as such.

group of individuals to exchange 'meaning' and perceive of commonality between themselves in their interpretation of those meanings (Cohen, 1985). Social interaction must be incorporated into any approach to 'community' and 'place' (Delanty, 2010; 2003). Moreover, it is the terrains of discourse and power, which are contingent to the individual interpretation of 'community'. "[This] … important bridge between macro and micro perspectives, missing in so much empirical research", Karen O'Reilly asserts (2012: 7-8),

> … is provided by analysis of the interaction, through *practice*, of individuals (with desires, goals, expectations and habits […] and the wider structures, as enacted by people in positions, roles or statuses, in relation to each other.

Employing a broader historical and contextual analysis in the literature review - as the innovative community studies of Hall (1990), Maclean (1997) and Harper (2001) have pioneered - and analyzed pertinent wider cultural discourses, I hope to have mitigated this imbalance (Crow, 2008). My hope in revealing the 'ontological complicity' between structural and agential modes is to provide a more holistic ethnographic representation. That is, a socially constructed rural, where any essence of rurality, as in the modernist period, or even in the deconstructed, postmodern-poststructural periods (Cloke, 1996), is futile to pursue. Instead, what we must have is a 'reflexively deployed' construct to be examined in terms of its multiple and divergent lived performances. As Galani-Moutafi (2013; 104) claims, the socially constructed rural, combined with the restructuring of rural economies towards leisure activities, tourism, farm diversification, and the commodification of signs, spectacles, experiences and information, has entailed a "recapturing of the 'rural' and the 'local'". This leads us towards recent more-than-representational approaches, which focus upon ideas of performance, narrative and embodiment within the competing spaces that make up rurality. This we might tentatively call the 'third rural', a rural of embodiment, practice and performance (Woods, 2010; Halfacree, 2012).

2.1.3. *More-than-Representational approaches; a 'Third Rural'?*

The parallel impetuses of the 'cultural turn', albeit employed in a somewhat *ad hoc* fashion within rural studies, have inflected variously upon the literature (Barnett, 1998; Cooke *et al.*, 2000). Cultural emphasis has served to *desocialize* the rural of 'lay voices' through concern with the identity politics of representation (Gregson, 2003; Smith, 2000). The cultural turn has also *dematerialized* the rural (Philo, 2000) and *despatialized* its geographical foundation (Murdoch & Pratt, 1993), preoccupied as it is with the "intersubjective meanings and the outworking of identity politics through texts, signs, symbols and emotions" (Cloke, 2006a: 22). Indeed, a key appeal of the constructionist approach has been to relinquish spatial constraints in conceptualizing the rural, whose theoretical rigor is considered lacking in a postmodern, post-productionist period (Marsden, 2006). Yet the *deterritorialized* rural also tends to neglect the material dimensions of the rural condition, which have fundamental impacts upon lived experience in rural places (Cloke, 2006a; Woods, 2009). The aim to define the rural as a locality and/or a social representation has thus served only to consolidate rurality within a 'rational abstraction' rather than 'practical application' (Halfacree, 2006a).

Recently however, more-than-representational theories of the rural, of affect and bodily experience, have inflected the literature and attempt a more practically grounded definition of rurality (Halfacree, 2012; Woods, 2010). Indeed, theories of 'non-representational knowledge' are becoming "ubiquitous" within rural literatures (Carolan, 2008: 412; see Hetherington, 2003; Laurier & Philo, 2003; Spinney, 2006; Thrift, 1996; 2004; 2007). This final rural approach seeks to explore how discourses of rurality are performed or enacted within the material conditions of rural spaces. This spells an era when materialities and meanings of rural spaces are constantly reproduced and contested by rural actors (Bryden, 1994; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2010).

Interstitial with the ideas of social constructionism, the final rural approach alluded to by Cloke (2006), apparent in recent 'more-than-representational' approaches, goes some way to revealing the mutually constitutive nature of objective and subjective phenomena (see for example, Carolan, 2008; Wylie, 2007). As Carolan (2008: 408) suggests, "we think, and thus we socially construct, with our bodies". Moreover, approaches in this trend attempt to overcome the problematic identified by Halfacree (2006a), placing actors and agency as real individuals entangled in power relations, rather than abstract constituents within a discursive framework (Frisvoll, 2012). Here scholars attempt to reveal the ways in which rurality is performed and enacted by agents under the influence of local, national and global discourses (Carolan, 2008; Edensor, 2006; Woods, 2010). Indeed, some have attempted to move beyond a social constructivist perspective and toward phenomenological and sensory experience in performance of the rural (Carolan, 2008) and landscape (Ingold, 2000; 2007; 2011; Ingold & Vergunst, 2008; Vergunst, 2012; Vergunst & Árnason, 2012; Wylie, 2002; 2005; 2007).

Working counter to the despatialized and desocialized socially constructed rural, more-than-representational approaches therefore seek to re-embed the rural as grounded in the practices of everyday rural life (halfacree, 2012). It has long been argued that the rural is a 'theatre of consumption' (Leiss *et al.,* 1986; Phillips *et al.*, 2001), impressed upon by the particular cultural predispositions and hegemonic ideals of capitally invested parties (Halfacree, 1993; 1995). Thus, in this framework the rural is a site of contestation, of differing performances coinciding on the same stages where any one ideation is unlikely (Macnaghten & Urry, 1998) [51]. 'Performances' by rural actors therefore transgress binaries (Carolan, 2008; Edensor, 2006; Ingold, 2000) and communities are characterised by internal 'difference' rather than homogeneity (Liepins, 2000a; Panelli & Welch, 2005). Thus, at Tim Edensor's suggestion (2006), I see something of an axis between representation and

[51] In this way, we may relate the metaphor for performance with works on rural 'others' (Cloke, 2006; 2006) and the inclusion/exclusion disputes of the rural space (Sibley, 2006; Shucksmith, 2012)

experience, whereupon the consumption of representations becomes an act of performance. This axis is an integral component of both Liepins' (2000a) and Halfacree's (2006) models, hinged upon the 'trialectic' of structure and space, socially constructed meanings and representations, and everyday lived experiences and practices.

A progressive and potentially liberating approach, the more-than-representational approach to narrative will prove important to my own exploration of landscape in everyday life and music making, particularly the practices of walking and working. Thus, the nonrepresentational theory (Thrift, 2007) that informs this approach to the rural is itself a socializing rural turn, focusing upon affect, feeling, emotion, sensuality and action brought about by engagement with the material world (Carolan, 2008; Blackman & Venn, 2010; Thien, 2005). Moreover, just as social constructionism does not deny the materiality of the world, so nonrepresentational theory maintains the important representational aspect of rurality and its impetuses in everyday life (Del Casino & Hannah, 2006; Halfacree, 2012; Lorimer, 2005). Thus the material, the representational and the more-than-representational rurals are not set in binary opposition. Rather, they must instead be seen as ontologically complicit: As David Harvey (1996: 322) makes clear, the 'materiality, representation and imagination' found in various approaches to community and place, "are not separate worlds". Nonrepresentational experiences sought in this approach must, contrarily, be represented in the act of producing a thesis, for instance, we must admit; "… representations [no matter how carefully and subtly constructed] tell only part of the story" (Carolan, 2008: 412). 'Traditional' research methods, such as those ethnographic techniques I have employed, and outline in chapter 3, can, however, approach non-representational knowledges. As Latham (2003: 2000) suggests, "pushed in the appropriate direction there is no reason why these methods cannot be made to dance a little". Moreover, my use of my 'ethnographic self', and observational filmmaking, for instance, are in part a means to tell 'more' of this story (see chapter 3).

2.1.4. *Conclusion to Theoretical Context*

The relationship between structure and agent, object and subject, have preoccupied much 20th century ontological debate. By and large these poles also mark the perspectives of positivist and interpretive paradigms – indeed most paradigms of social theory (Bryman, 2012). Thus, as Calhoun et al. (2002: 259) conclude:

> Taken together, these dichotomies have marked the relatively stable poles in the social sciences, with structural explanation tending to see social life as completely external and objective, and action-oriented sociology looking at social life through subjective experience.

The poles of structural/functional and social constructionist type approaches to rural space and community only perpetuate a fetishistic either/or dilemma in rural approaches (Halfacree, 2012); a conundrum in which one must attribute either functionality, in the former, or authenticity in the latter, to the term 'community' (Lipeins, 2000a). As I see it, however, the distancing of theoretical-empirical approaches has served only to make us "less attentive to the more thingy, bump-into-able, stubbornly there-in-the-world kinds of matter", to use Philo's words (2000: 13; Gregson, 2003). As an ethnographer however, it is precisely the 'being-there-in-the-world', and the discourses to be found there, that interest me. Thus it is only through a more hybridizing, 'less totalizing' theoretical exploration into contextual rural practice that useful 'truths' may be gleaned (Halfacree, 2006a). These 'lay narratives', the textual ways people construct and represent their 'realities' - that is, in relation to the material - are of utmost significance to the ethnographer, who observes their manifestation in everyday rural practices (Cresswell, 2012). Empiricism is therefore paramount. Lay narratives must, however, be explored through some degree of conceptual framework. I therefore take on board Cloke's (2006a: 26) summation that we cannot escape the 'palimpsestual theoretical landscape' in which we operate as scholars, where "the most recent layers of ideas become eroded down to reveal their integral topographic relations with

previous ideas". Rather, continuities do exist throughout the paradigm shifts outlined above, and underlying textures and practices have cumulative influence in successive settings (Panelli, 2006; 2004; Phillips, 1998). Specifically, empirical concern with the measurement, assessment and modeling of rural societies, often through core analytic units of family, community and locality, remain common (Panelli, 2006). Moreover, as Halfcaree (2012: 388) puts it, " … all of these interpretations of rurality in the 21st century are often intellectually worthwhile in their own right but each have their own demographic implications". I do not, therefore, advocate an erosion of 'previous ideas' so far as they are precluded entirely. Rather, my own epistemological leanings tend towards a marriage between the received wisdoms of previous schools, and the radical interventions of postmodernism. This is, as Halfacree (2007: 127) suggests, "less about establishing a truly 'new' understanding than about realizing what we already have".

Here then, it seems fruitful to bring together material/structural, constructed/agential, and practiced/experience conceptions of rural space – represented in the *structural/functionalism* of the 'first rural', the *social constructionism* of the second, and *more-than-representational* in what I have called the 'third rural', respectively - observing their intersections in particular lived musical experiences in Tarset. 'Community' and 'place', then, are substantiated by the ways participants talk about them, rather than through often-impenetrable academic discourse. This is to bring ethnographic interpretations and representations closer to 'lay narratives', in a fashion after what Deleuze and Guattari (1986) called 'minor theory' (Barnett, 1998; Katz, 1996; Philo, 2000) - A kind of everyday vernacular knowledge, that is, which is grounded in empirical data. In terms of music and community studies, Kay Shelemay (2011:350) suggests, this approach "provides an opportunity both to have a conversation that does not require translation, and to bring together the perspectives of research associates with the scholar's efforts at interpretation". In this vein Cloke (2006: 24) also urges us towards a fourth conceptualization of *rural hybrid*:

> Rather than understanding material, imaginative and practised ruralities as somehow separate, it is possible – indeed seemingly strongly advisable – to see them as intrinsically and dynamically intertwined and embodied with 'flesh and blood' culture and with real life relationships

The necessary acknowledgement to this is that structure and agency are not dichotomous but actually work in 'ontological complicity': their convergence in an individual's connection with a world that is both material and social (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1989). "In short", Bell asserts (2007: 413), "mater-reality and idea-reality each annunciate, and reannunciate, the rural – and each other": Representational and more-than-representational rurals are not, therefore, freestanding, either from each other or from the material first rural (Halfacree, 2012). In conclusion, in order to interpret the rural today, we require a 'plural', or 'hybrid' rural; of the "idea-real" and "mater-real" together (Bell, 2007: 412). The challenge for rural studies has been to implement this more holistic understanding of how rural communities and places are constructed and understood (Marsden, 2006). Likewise, the challenge for the current analysis is to show how both the material and ideational rural spaces and communities are actually complexly interwoven in practice. Understanding the interwoven character of the rural's material and ideational elements may overcome the dualism inherent within definitions of landscape (Creswell, 2003; Daniels, 1990), 'community' (Harper, 1989; Leipins, 2000a; 2000b; Panelli, 2006; Silk, 1999) and rural spaces generally (Cloke, 2006; Halfacree, 2006a; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2010). To achieve this end, I employ two complementary models for approaching rural community and place found in Ruth Liepins' (2000a) and Keith Halfacree's (2006) models for rural community and space. Consequently I hope to realize, as Saar and Palang (2009: 1) conclude, a 'multidisciplinary' approach to place; "uniting different processes starting from deeply personal meaning creation and ending with changes happening in global scale" (see also Woods, 2007). In the following section I outline my interpretation of Liepins' and Halfacree's models in relation to my own study and to the hybrid rural approach.

2.2. Towards a Hybrid Rural

A useful way of approaching the interconnectedness – or ontological complicity - of rural localities, representations and lived experiences is using Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical vocabulary of habitus and field. Transcending the structure/agency impasse (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1989: 50), Bourdieu's theory of practice (see OTP, 1977) operates this within a circular, co-constitutive relationship between habitus (agent) and field (structure). A progression of the 'theory of practice' finds Bourdieu (1983; 1993) describing the how structuring social effects define artists' output in a 'field of cultural production' (Henderson & Spracklen, 2015; Rimmer, 2001).

Habitus has been defined by turns as "a way of knowing the world, a set of divisions of space and time, of people and things, which structure social practice" (Dovey, 2005: 284) and as "deep seated and socially shaped sentiment, tastes perceptions" (Crossley, 2004: 94). Habitus describes "our ways of acting, feeling, thinking and being. It captures how we carry within us our history, how we bring this history into our present circumstances, and how we then make choices to act in certain ways and not others" (Maton, 2008: 52). Habitus therefore engenders particular cultural competencies, 'ways of doing things'. This is the "competent situational application of interactional and communicative rules" (Flick et al, 2004: 4), which refer cogently to Bourdieu's 'game' analogies (1979). Bourdieu was insistent upon this practical knowledge, the so-called 'feel for the game' by which one might manipulate – consciously or not - the reflexive relation between habitus and field (1990)[52]. As 'the social embodied' therefore, habitus can help us to explore the coalescent relationship between subject and structure and the manner in which the two continually shape each other: As a 'thinking tool', habitus can alert us "to new possibilities, new assemblies, new ways of seeing

[52] An operation, and an exercise, that the ethnographic researcher must undertake to objectivise his own practices and position within the fields in which he operates. Something in section 2.3 I attempt to undertake.

relationships" (Bernstein, 2000: 136, thinking with habitus ref). The concept of habitus may be useful therefore, in the first instance, to approach the cultural expediency of particular discourses to particular groups in their constructions of 'community' and 'place', and to explain why symbolic constructions of 'community' and 'place' can be regarded as observable *social regularities* between individuals[53].

What emerges from Bourdieu's milieu, therefore, is a grounding of the social sciences in the practical perspective of agents who are steeped in the socio-cultural ecology of their environment (Ostrow, 1981). Most fundamentally, the agent is deeply penetrated by cultural practices. Like the social constructionist perspective, the individual is the very product of the historical, social and cultural constrains of the discursive world. The historically fundedness of perception means that *experiencing self* is to some extent a dialectical function of this inscribed, *experienced*, pretext (Ostrow, 1981). Habitus is therefore not cognitively understood but rather internalised and embodied; "its importance derives largely from its thoughtlessness or *doxa*" (Dovey, 2005:

[53] Concerning the social situation of knowledge, I make use of Pierre Bourdieu's 'thinking tools', of *capital*, *field*, and particularly *habitus*, which are conceptually useful in a study such as this (Rimmer, 2012; 2010; 2007; Atkinson, 2011). Bourdieu's schema and the socially constructivist position is appropriate for generating understandings mediated between social structures (in this instance, the social interactions surrounding folk music) and agents personal experiences of them. In his seminal work, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984), Bourdieu argues that dispositions of taste acquire significant social meaning in relational systems of propriety and power. Such systems are often unrecognized, masked by normative, *doxic* assumptions. The habitus can therefore describe the ways in which social structures are reproduced and we can begin to consider why particular groups enlist particular symbols and perceive of a commonality in their significance between members. As Cohen (1985) suggests, 'community' is often asserted as a function of differentiation from others. In this idea of differentiation we can begin to apply the notion of *symbolic violence*. Bourdieu shows how the habitus relates to power in the continual hegemony of the dominant (2001 (1998): 35). Symbolic violence is the legitimation of that dominance in a way such that it appears to the dominated, not as an act of aggression, but generational acumen of 'the natural order of things' (Webb, et al. 2002).

284). These *doxic* knowledges, however, remain indebted to the appearance of objectivity in lay narratives, precisely because of their clandestine nature in discourse and the intergenerational acumen of 'the way things are' (Bourdieu, 1990; 1991; Jenkins, 2002). Individuals and social cohorts can therefore acquire cultural competencies, and capital assests, by which they define their social identity and "the sense of the position one occupies in social space" (Bourdieu, 1991: 235). Yet with its historical foundations, generative predispositions are not a matter of personal history, rather they are discursive, socio-cultural phenomena. Yet, habitus also encompasses the potential for subjective agency. That is to say, the ways in which the habitus, as a 'structuring structure', ever modifies the social structures with which it comes into contact, whilst simultaneously being structured by them iteratively. Those with capitals assets can utilize habitus in the field – to influence the structure and their position within it.

With habitus we might then logically ask, 'what are the cultural forces conditioning symbolic meanings?' 'What *a priori* function orientates one's estimation and interpretation of particular symbols?' How is it that 'communities' and 'places' are constructed, reproduced and evolve? The ethnographic methods employed must therefore attempt analyse the processes by which construction and representation of discourses occur, in what structural settings are they practiced in everyday life? In terms of rural studies, this admission welcomes within its precincts the ideas of Tim Edensor (2006), who discusses the various stages and ways in which rurality is 'performed' by both actors and researchers. Tim Edensor, writing in the *Handbook of Rural Studies* (2006: 484) for instance, notes that;

> … the ways in which the materialities and meanings of rural space are reproduced, consolidated and contested, along with the identities of those who dwell and move within them, can also be considered by examining how rurality is staged so as to accommodate particular enactions

As the thesis concerns two broad concepts of community and place, approached through the prism of folk music, my movement towards Cloke's

(2006) hybrid rural approach involve the discussion of Leipin's (2000a) model for community and Halfacree's (2006) model for rural space. The frameworks used to approach the broad analytical themes of community and place, must therefore account for the interconnectedness of the first rural – structures, spaces, and localities of rurality – the second rural – the socially constructed meanings and representations of the rural – and the third rural, of doxic, emodied practice and everyday life. It will be seen that both Liepins' and Halfacree's models share a mutual genealogy in the approaches to the rural outlined above, and my interpretation their frameworks shows them as compatible in their treatment and inclusion of structural/functional, constructed/agential, and practiced/experienced rural approaches. Moreover, it is worthwhile in the first instance to reiterate the case that community, space and place are "constantly intertwined in highly complicated ways" (Liepins, 2000a; 27; Harvey, 1996; Massey, 1991). In analysis chapters 4, Folk Music and Community, and 5, Folk Music and Place, I arrange the discussion broadly into the three elements of community and rural space as described by Leipins (2000a) and Halfacree (2006) respectively. These I shall now briefly outline, showing how they correlate with each other and with the preceding discussion, and the following methodological and analysis chapters.

2.2.1. *Ruth Liepins' Community Model*

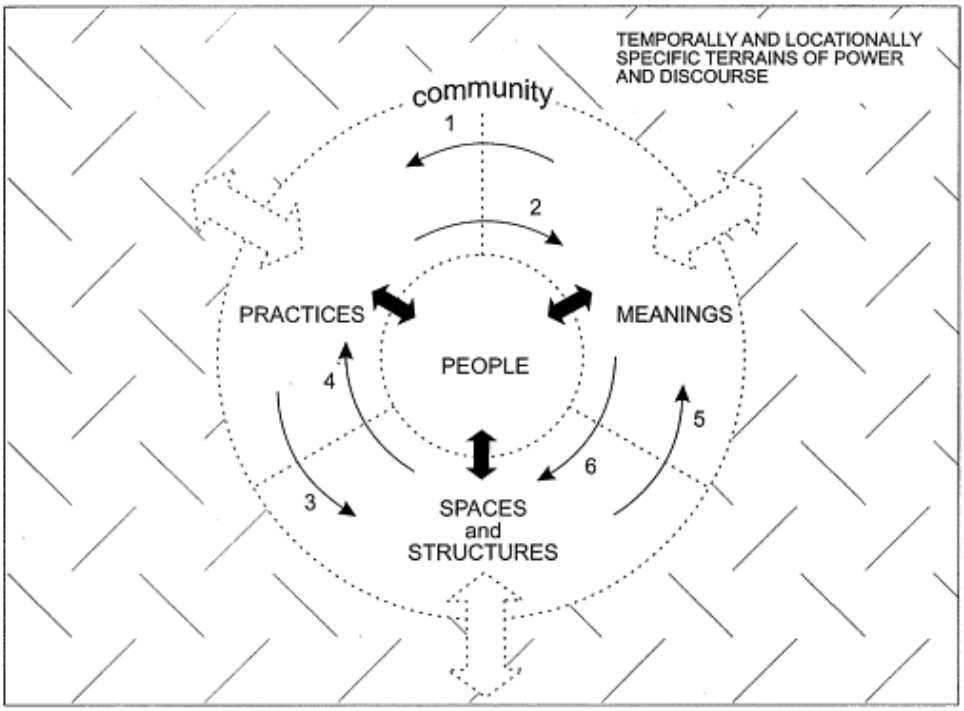
Taking Liepin's (2000a) model first, as I employ it in analysis chapter 4, she suggests a more robust analytical framework for community would cumulatively energize and enhance the concept through engagement with 'the contexts and people involved in shaping 'community'' and the "meanings, practices, and spaces and structures which are interconnected in characterizing the material and cultural operation of such 'communities'" (ibid; 23). Thus it will be seen that Liepins' model satisfies the material/structural, constructed/agential, and practiced/experienced conditions of the hybrid rural

approach. These accord respectively with the 'spaces and structures', 'meanings', and 'practices' that make up Liepins' model (see figure 2.1 below) and I shall now discuss in turn.

a) *The first rural: Spaces & Structures of Community*

Liepins (2000a) shows how the interconnections of identity, space and place are crucial to conceptualizing community. These provide, Liepins (ibid: 27) suggests, "concepts of social and spatial phenomena by which to contextualize the character and locations of 'communities'". Communities, however, may also operate upon wider metaphoric notions of space. A useful characterization is provided by McDowell (1996: 32), who describes spaces as "not only sets of material social relations but also cultural objects"; thus ascribing rural space with kinds of conceptual significance dictated by a hybrid rural framework. An exploration of community and place within the trimantle of identity, place and space would allow us, Liepins (2000a: 28) argues, to envisage how locality and space shapes the forms and practices of community and space. The spaces and structures in which community occurs are therefore crucial, for enabling or confining how social practices occur, and for enabling the materialization of meanings (see diagram one). Moreover, such spaces and structures can become the embodiment of community 'meanings' (Lipeins, 2000a). The importance of 'context', both physical and discursive, is therefore important to understanding community constructions (Panelli & Welch, 2005): Attention must be paid to the historical, political, cultural specificities surrounding community identity formation (Lave, 2003; Radcliffe, 1999), as well as the physical, material settings in which formation takes place (Dwyer, 1999; MacKenzie & Dalby, 2003). Although emerging throughout the analysis, the ideas of structural and spatial settings for community are addressed most readily in chapter 4.4, Authentic Stages: Performing Music, Performing Community, where the various structural and spatial stages in

which folk music is produced in Tarset are analysed as the producers and material embodiments of meaning and practice.



1 MEANINGS	legitimate practices
2 PRACTICES	enable the circulation and challenging of meanings
3 PRACTICES	occur in spaces and through structures, and shape those spaces and structures
4 SPACES and STRUCTURES	affect how practices can occur
5 SPACES and STRUCTURES	enable the materialization of meaninngs
6 MEANINGS	are embodied in spaces and structures

Figure 2.1: Liepin's model for community (2000a)

b) *The Second Rural: Meanings of Community*

Socially constructed 'meanings' are also key to Liepin's (2000a) model. The formation of community will involve the articulation of such *meanings*, as they legitimate practices and are embodied within and by the spaces and structures

of practice. However, whereas the 'traditional' community study tended to represent such experiences and understandings as held 'in common' by bounded, homogeneous groupings, contemporary community literatures instead focus upon the internal difference and conflict in meaning within a community (Panelli & Welch, 2005). Thus, integral to both models is the notion agential behavior, and the everyday practices of rurality as they occur in observation and lay discourse. "In short", Liepins (2000a: 31) argues "community' as a cultural or rhetorical medium for sharing ideas about experiences or interests provides us with a conceptual object for study". Thus 'community', like 'place', is an indefinable number of individual constructions. Each participant in 'community' is a meaning-making agent "subject to their own respective logics and armed with their own facilities of truth generation" (Bauman, 1992, quoted in Murdoch and Pratt, 1993: 415). Thus, I wish to avoid the pitfalls of attempting to define 'community' and place as the causal result of other sociological processes – an endeavor that has consistently lead to conceptual shortcoming. Instead I have chosen to regard 'community' as a rhetorical device for the attribution of 'meaning'. Cohen (1985: 16) writes:

> The quintessential referent of community is that its members make, or believe they make, a similar sense of things either generally or with respect to specific and significant interests, and further, that they think that that sense may differ from one made elsewhere…

In elaborating the impetus of this work, which is to emphasise individuality over commonality whilst maintaining that a perception of commonality is necessary for 'community' to function we will build substantially on the work of Anthony Cohen. Cohen (1985: 40) writes:

> […] we have to question the significance we might be inclined to attach to the appearance of their structural forms and seek, instead, the meanings imputed to them by their members. In other words, we have to treat them as *symbolic* forms

In this line, Liepins (2000a) argues that meanings legitimate social practices, in a manner somewhat reminiscent of kinship, neighborliness and so forth. This discursive aspect of community would allow us, as Liepins argues, to continue social constructionist notions of community and place within the

second ‘idea moment’ of the rural (Bell, 2007). Moreover, Rather than attempt to ascertain any degree of essential ‘truthfulness’ in such representations of rurality, as though by some ‘hierarchy of truth’, I agree with Matless (1994), Jones (1995) and Thompson (1995) in discouraging such positivistic interpretation. Their emphasis on multiplicity accords with my own epistemological stance. Indeed, Matless encourages us simply to map some of the contours in the ‘rich complexity’ of how people construct and perform rurality (1994: 8). These lay narratives will emerge throughout the discussion in chapter 4, incorporating ideas of social inclusivity and exclusivity, of the existence of ‘others’ in Tarset, and the bounding of a Tarset identity against other places.

c) *The Third Rural: Practices of Community*

Thus, “people”, Lipeins (2000a; 24) suggests, “(through their multiple identities and groupings) are seen as ‘central’ to the constructions of a ‘community’”. This agential aspect is iterated through notions of ‘practice’ in Liepins’ model. Practices enable challenges to and the circulation of meanings, and occur within the spaces and structures. They also help to shape those spaces and structures (see figure 2.1; Panelli & Welch, 2005). Agents occupy and perform within the complex terrains of material and discursive relations that are provided by formal representations of the rural. Yet the tendency towards community as a ‘social collectivity’ (Maffesoli, 1991) also denotes the enactment and reconstitution of such representations through successive performances. “Community”, therefore, “involves social relations that can be observed in practices or performances that are spatially constituted” (Panelli & Welch, 2005: 1593). Meanings and spaces therefore invite such performances in everyday lives of the rural, which, far from at the mercy of discursive power relations, may also be empowered to alter and modify their trajectories. Material elements - landscape, village, community – may also

become ‘hyper-real commodities’ in middle class taste cultures (Bell, 2006; Cloke, 1997; Cloke et al., 1995; 1998; Halfacree, 1994; 1995; May, 1996a; 1996b). The effect of these ideas relate to postmodern interpretations of consumption in the shaping of economy and culture (Dann, 1998; Perkins, 2006). “A recognition of diversity and difference”, Lipeins (2000a: 22) suggests, “allows us to subvert earlier criticisms of ‘community’ as an unhelpfully homogenizing term”. Thus, it is through the daily interactions between people in the course of social life that versions of knowledge become fabricated, and these coloured by wider cultural beliefs. Cultural beliefs, like community and place, are called into being by the exigencies of social interaction (Cohen, 1985: 12). The multifarious constructions of the world are therefore bound up with power relations because they have implications for social practice: What Foucault, by metaphor of the panopticon prison design, saw as the self-regulation of people under the prevailing standards of proprietary (1975)[54]. Similarly, and with regards music’s role in all of this, as Revill (2006) suggests, we must focus

> … on the gathering and deployment of social and cultural resources in the assembly of meaningful quotidian experience [which] reflects thinking concerning both the role of history and memory in lived experience …

Focusing upon everyday lived experiences helps us to move closer to those lay narratives, played out and performed whilst entangled in the webs and

[54] In structuralist terms, Durkheim described nonconformity with the function of the structure as ‘normlessess’ or *anomie*. This phenomenon is observed in both the structural-functionalist community studies of Frankenberg (1966) and Rees (1950). There, any challenge to the boundaries of a shared and historicised sense of social propriety – a “departure from moral rules” (Frankenberg, 1966: 50) – may see a collective remonstration against the offender, as in the functional role of young men in Llanfihangel, exercising social control by ridicule (Rees, 1950: 83) or the collective disassociation of kinship from a criminal within the network, as in Williams (1956). In Foucauldian terms however, one might reread these observations not as seeking functional equilibrium, but as the self-regulatory, doxic impetus of, perhaps, ‘state’ or ‘capitalist’ discourses, for which such equilibrium is most advantageous.

conditions of material spaces and socially constructed ideas of the rural (Frisvoll, 2012; Galani-Moutafi, 2013; Halfacree, 2006).

2.2.2. *Keith Halfacree's 'Three-fold Architecture for Rural Space'*

If the rural as taxonomic referent continues to hold sway, despite conceptual rally cries against it (Bell, 2008; Woods, 2009), particularly in popular discourses, then its effacement is inappropriate. This, Halfacree (2012: 388) argues, is why an interpretation which "[sees] rurality as still being at least partly embodied and grounded" is necessary. Halfacree's model builds upon his own re-working of conceptual approaches to the rural discussed above (1993; 2012), and the intervention of Henri Lefebvre's concepts of space. As Lefebvre's (1991) theory regards space as simultaneously *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* (Merrifield, 2000), so Halfacree's three-fold architecture draws upon structuralist, social constructionist and performative framings of rurality to assist an "holistic" approach to subjective experiences, rooted in the cultures, structures, practices and representations that shape them (Anderson & Harrison, 2006; Yarwood, 2011)[55]. Akin to Liepins' (2000a) model for rural community, the main impetus of Halfacree's model is to foreground the interplay, in Braudrillardian fashion, between material referent (rural space), representation (signifier) and lived experience (signification) (Cloke, 2006; Halfacree, 1993): These broadly configuring the three theoretical approaches of the first, second and third rural outlined in section 2.1. Halfacree then suggests the possibility of a Lefebvrian 'third space' - reminiscent of the 'more-than-representational' third rural - wherein material, psychological and wider discourses of power meet in praxis. In this way, rurality and place are

[55] Halfacree's model has been employed successfully by Galani-Moutafi (2013) in his study of agents' differing representations of rurality based upon their spatial practices in the Aegean village of Mesta. Likewise, Yarwood (2011) uses the model in his study of search and rescue volunteers on Dartmoor in the English county of Cornwall.

something of a midway between materiality and subjective feeling, a kind of 'betweenness' (Entrikin, 1991).

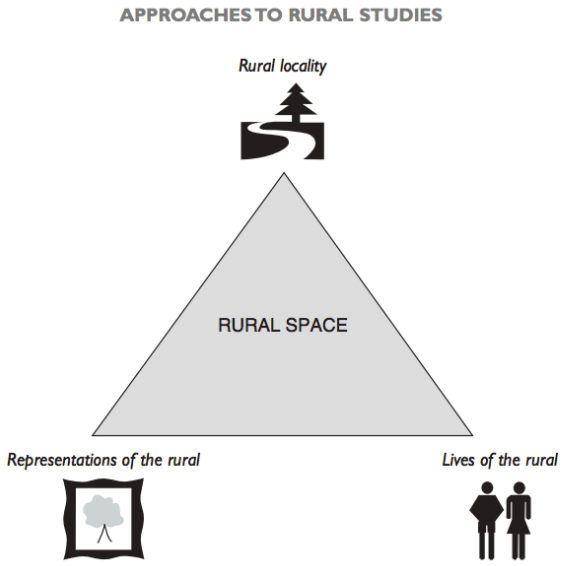


Figure 2.2: Halfacree's Three-Fold Model for Rural Space (2006a)

Halfacree (2006a) outlines the three elements of his model in terms of rural localities, representations of the rural, and lived experience (see Figure 2.2). These, I see as mutually concordant with Liepins' (2000a) emphasis upon structures and spaces, meanings, and practices of 'community'. I shall now outline these as follows and as I treat them in analysis chapter 5[56].

[56] Although Halfacree (2006) and (2007) outlines this trialectic in terms of 'locality', 'representation' then 'lives of the rural' I have reoredered their discussion here to suit my own analysis.

a) *The First Rural: Rural Localities*

"Rural localities", Halfacree (2006a: 47) proposes, "are inscribed through relatively distinctive spatial practices. These practices may be linked to either production or consumption activities". Halfacree (see also Halfacree, 1993; Moseley, 1984) characterizes the material aspects of rurality – or the rural locale, in his model - as follows:

> The attempt to understand rural space through the locality definition is likely to draw upon the distinctiveness of one or more of the following: agriculture and other primary productive activities, low population density and physical inaccessibility, and consumption behavior.

Localities are in part an evolution of structural – materialist notions of rural space. 'Rural localities' are therefore equitable with the *first rural*; a rural of spatial practices, of perceptions of 'real' space (Bell, 2007; Elden, 2004). I shall have continual recourse to landscape in the analysis chapters, for it is landscape I take as broadly equating to the rural space, physical landscape and the occuations associated therewith. Within the material space of landscape, I argue, meaningful places are delineated through formal representation in, and the performances of, music making. Like the spaces and structures in which communities are enacted therefore, rural localities exert material and discursive constraints against place meanings, and are simultaneously altered by the occupation of such meanings. In the locality version, rural space is practised as a set of distinct social, political and/or economic actions (Halfacree, 2006: 49). The socially constructed meanings of the second rural, significant to community and place therefore, are cultured in complex arrangements of local physical and metaphoric spaces of the first. In this way, I shall attempt to show landscape and place as a multi-layered concept. In analysis chapter 5.2, particular landscapes, I show how the material features of the Tarset locality, its flora and fauna, its local cultural distinctiveness may become the embodiment and materialization of place meanings, which are themselves expressed through their representation in

and the performance of folk music. Such meanings are accosted in Halfacree's model by notions of discourse and representation.

b) *The Second Rural: Formal Representations of the Rural*

In order to preserve 'rural' as a practicable concept, we must see it as not entirely as a spatial object, characterized by agrarian industries, and other idealized, 'chaotic conceptions' (Sayer, 1986) but as a rather more "malleable social construct/concept" (Halfacree, 2012: 389). "Specifically", Halfacree argues, "we must consider rurality as representation". "The concept of social representation, because it is representational," Halfacree (ibid: 47) suggests, "does allow us to retain a notion of rural space, albeit one that is much more 'virtual' than that implicated in the locality definition". The representation of rural space refers to its being conceived, or imagined, and thus socially constructed (Elder, 2004; Mormont, 1990). This aspect of Halfacree's model he defines as:

> *Formal representations of the rural* such as those expressed by capitalist interests, bureaucrats or politicians. Crucially, these representations refer to the way the rural is framed within the (capitalist) production process; specifically, how the rural is commodified in exchange value terms. Procedures of signification and legitimation are vital here.

As in the social constructionist framing, this prism sees the rural in textual ways, abstracted and expressed through signs, plans, codes etcetera (Longhurst, 2003; see Duncan, 1996; Keith & Pile, 2003; Pile & Thrift, 1995; Phillips *et al*. 2001). Recent works to consider rurality as a 'social representation of space' (Halfacree, 1993) include Baylina and Berg (2010), Cruickshank (2009) and Mahon (2007); though various others envisage rural spaces as 'images' and 'texts' (Rose, 1993), employing a discourse-based approach to rural meanings in both place and community. In this conceptualization, the rural becomes "the outcome of processes of class

formation as individuals and collectivities attempt to mould rural space into forms which reflect and perpetuate class identity and difference" (Murdoch & Marsden, 1994: 15). Like Liepins' (2000a) emphasis upon the meanings attributed to community, so representations of the rural space may entail social differentiation and conflict. It is in this sense that the rural exists as a 'significant imaginative space', "connected" as Cloke (2006: 18) suggests, "with all kinds of cultural meanings ranging from the idyllic to the oppressive". Murdoch and Marsden (1994) have suggested, such is the power of the rural idyll, that rural 'performances' may actively subvert 'others' seen as endangering its possibility (see also Bell, 2006). Inherent in ideas of the rural space is its contested nature, its ideation therefore inculcated in discourses of power and the associated concerns of class, ethnicity, gender and so forth. Thus, as Yarwood & Charlton (2009) argue, we might gain "an insight into particular visions of rurality, their emotive appeal to certain audiences and how they have, in turn, been used to strengthen particular rural and regional discourses" (ibid: 202). Thus it is that there is no single authentic representation of the rural (Phillips, 2001b). Studies have shown the ways ethnicity (Agyeman & Spooner, 1997; Kinsman, 1995); gender (Agg & Phillips, 1998) and sexuality (Valentine, 1997), and so forth, bear upon reading and experience of the rural. (Howard (2011) and Cresswell (2013) also note such variations with regards rural landscape.)

Perhaps in response to the broader effects of globalization, as Corsane *et al.* (2009) have argued, interest in local distinctiveness and 'spirit of place' is a discursive proposition increasingly associated with constructions of identity and sense of belonging; uniting, perhaps, in response to some 'external threat' (Dalby & MacKenzie, 1997; Panelli & Welch, 2005; Rodriguez, 1999; Wilson *et al.* 2004). In chapter 5.1, general landscapes, I show the ways participant's musical compositions refract both wider cultural discourses for 'rurality', popularly those presented by the media, but also those that occur in traditional folk songs. In this way, social constructionist, or, in a "postmodern-influenced ethnography", Thomas (1993) writes, "might confront the centrality of medi-created realites and the influence of information technologies" (in

Cresswell, 2012: 27)[57]. These I call 'general' 'representations of the rural', inflected with culturally valuable references to landscape and thus possessed of commoditized 'exchange value'. It is my contention that these exchange values can equate to a sense of 'authenticity' associated with folk music.

c) *The Third Rural: Everyday Lives*

If 'people' are central to Lipeins' (2000a) model, Halfacree (2007: 126) likewise argues that the third angle in his conceptual triad, 'lives of the rural', is characterized as a 'space of representation' whereby:

> " […] diverse and often incoherent images and symbols are associated with space as *directly lived* – the spatial performance of everyday life"

If the socially constructed rural heralded the despatialisation of modernist rural definitions, that is, rural geographically disembedded or liberated from the objective spaces of agrarian-productivity etcetera, "then this disembedding is again knocked a little off balance through bringing in lived experiences of

[57] Much of the rural orientated conception of folk music is rooted in 'the rural idyll'. The ubiquitous idyll of the first revival pre-empted the employment of similar notions at times of crisis throughout the 20th century[57]. Simon Schama, in *Landscape and Memory*, notes the manner in which popular depictions of the countryside have become prototypical rhetoric; "countless paintings, engravings, postcards, railway train photographs, and war posters […] merely had to be executed in order to summon up loyalty to the temperate, blessed isle" (1995: 11). Schama's summation of the rural landscape in the 20th century is of a 'place' constructed by a myriad of associations and sentiments, in sum; discourse. One could argue that this persuasive logic emanates, ostensibly, from a sense of nostalgia characteristic to the English sensibility: the foundation of a historically apprised identity and 'imagined past' (Wright, 1985). The revival, the folk and the folk-culture constructs and the 'English rural myth' are co-constitutive discourses[57]. Folk music does, however, continue to invoke particular representations of the rural landscape both through association and lyrical content. This is perhaps the most important means by which rural musicians articulate 'place attachment' (Revill, 2012).

more-than-representational rurality" (Halfacree, 2012: 392). That is to say, such is the power of social constructions and representations, that they may influence life with the 'full force of objective facts' (Harvey, 1996: 211). With the diminished sense in which rural space acts as an agrarian product and producer, becoming instead a differentiated countryside with multiple stakeholder claims, in exchange and consumption rhetoric, the pursuit of the rural may therefore result in hyper-performances (Bell, 2006: 153; Edensor, 2006), which act to radicalize the rural space; to reify and embody particular representations through practice. Importantly, this emphasis upon lived experience – clearly linked to the conceived space of rural localities, and the perceived space of representations of the rural, the 'real-and-imagined' (Elden, 2004) – "spaces of representation refer to more symbolic generations and appropriations by users into quotidian meanings and local knowledges" (Halfacree, 2007: 126). Everyday lives of the rural, Halfacree (2006a: 51) describes as:

> …inevitably incoherent and fractured. These incorporate individual and social elements ('culture') in their cognitive interpretation and negotiation. Formal representations of the rural strive to dominate these experiences, as they will rural localities.

By thinking affectively about rurality, Halfacree suggests (2012: 395), "we leave the detached concentration on rurality's expression through representation to focus on what it is like existentially and sensuously to be 'in' the rural". In chapter 5.3, I turn most attentively to this aspect of rurality, showing how rural practices and occupations account for affective experiences of landscape that delineate place in embodied and experiential ways, particularly through walking and working. These in turn inflect upon particular kinds of musical representation of place.

2.3. Conclusion to Epistemological Stance – Axiology

In this chapter I have achieved a number of ends. Firstly, I discussed three broad conceptualizations of rurality - *structural-functionalist*, *social constructionist* and *more-than-representational* - as outline by Cloke (2006). I have shown how the changing ideas towards the rural are also indicative of the main precepts of modernist, postmodern, and post-structural thinking. The perennial dichotomy of structure and agency, however, has tended to be perpetuated in these conceptualizations. The espousal of social constructionism has refracted the traditional concerns of rural studies away from socio-political and economic stability, agrarian productivity, and spatialization, and towards concerns for deconstruction, difference and process, in language, power, meaning and representation (Thrift, 2000). To omit the ontologies of social constructionism is to miss the specific, contingent, the informal and the personal, the *emic* inter-subjectivities of social practice. Yet over reliance upon this will disguise the *etic* features of the field and social structure (Kottak, 2006). Both, however, may miss the actual lived experience of rural life in its corporeal, sensory, precognitive practices. It has been my intention to go some way in redressing this perspectival imbalance with a *hybrid rural* framing. In order to do so I have introduced Ruth Liepin's (2000a) model for community and Keith Halfacree's (2006) three-fold architecture for rural space. The three main facets of each, the real, the imagined, and the lived, may in Halfacree's (2004b) words, comprise a rural 'totality'.

This more reflexive approach to understanding the relationships between geography, representations and lived experiences allows for localities to be socially constructed and *constructing*. This Doreen Massey (1991; 1997; 2005) has argued is space as a 'sphere of multiplicity', always in a process of *becoming* (1991; 2005). By this, Cloke (2006: 26) similarly advocates a kind of 'sufficiently relaxed theoretical reflection' that allows theory to coincide with

empirical data in “less totalizing, less judgmental, less certain, more fluid and hybridized ways”. Or, as Woods (2009: 851-852) suggests

> … to present rural space as a socially produced set of manifolds, in which imaginative, material and practised ruralities are intrinsically and dynamically entwined and inscribed in the totality of the rural.

In essence this ethic also marks a movement towards the documentation of place and community meanings defined by those who experience them; where ‘the essence of place lies in the environment itself, and is defined by the individuals and the communities that live there’ (Corsane *et al.,* 2009; 3). This, if not yet an entirely distinctive theorization, may at least be regarded as the perspective, attitude or position by which I have introduced the thesis and conducted data collection, analysis and representation in the coming to chapters.

To conclude this chapter however I wish to reflect further on an aspect, already intimated above, of the postmodern moment and its impacts upon ideas of authorial legitimacy and validity in the representation of ethnographic knowledge. In *Sociology as an Art Form,* Robert Nisbet (1976: 3) argues that the general themes upheld in literature, aesthetics, photography, fine art and so on – of *community, masses, power, development, progress, conflict, egalitarianism, anomie, alienation and disorganization* – are also the shared aspirations of the sociological tradition. The final issue I wish to raise in this chapter, therefore, is an ethic – or *aesthetic* – that has coloured the entire research project. Nisbet calls for a ‘prophylaxis’, not against Science, but *Scientism*; something he describes as “…science with the spirit of discovery and creativity left out” (1976: 4). My ethnographic film *The Long Meadow* (2013), which is presented as a companion piece to the written thesis, is intended to fulfill that prophylactic role and to combat ‘methodological timidity’ (Thrift, 2000). This need not be mistaken for a wholesale rejection of social science practices. Research may, indeed *must,* continue to be performed within scientific parameters. Fieldwork may be carried out along the textbook guidelines, interviews may be transcribed and analyzed; theories, hypotheses, abstractions, and deductions may be applied to empirical data and the

inherited wisdoms of a century of sociology will remain integral to any creative sociology. Nor should it abrogate the pursuit of value and quality. As I have shown, however, interpretive paradigms are inadequately validated "by the methods we have inherited from a very different tradition of objective methods" (Lock & Strong, 2010: 9). Thus qualitative work remains unremittingly *authored,* an account of reality – "a fundamentally more concrete and plastic image" (Flick, *et al.,* 2004:5) - fictionalized in the process of communication. Indeed, whilst the term 'postmodern' may only linger on as a referent for the variety of ways in which social sciences have conducted, critiqued and legitimized themselves over the last thirty years, the intervention of 'postmodernist ideas' has had a transformative effect on ethnographic modes of enquiry and writing (Marcus, 1995; Payne & Payne, 2004); legitimizing new objects, new styles and modes of research (Plummer, 2001). It is to these methods I turn in the next chapter, giving details of the practical way my ethnography was conducted in Tarset. In chapter 3 I illustrate how the techniques conventional to ethnography, of participant observation, the depth interview, and ethnographic film making, can respectively approach the hybrid rural epistemological modes in a triangulated design (Latham, 2003). A second consequence of the hybrid rural, which I shall elaborate upon in chapter 3, is the notion of the 'ethnographic self' as an indispensible component of ethnographic practice. Authorial reflexivity and knowledge of the field, I argue, can and must be drawn upon in fieldwork and representation. In the first part of chapter 3 *Performing Rurality: The Ethnographic Self* (3.1), I give this admission full attention, illustrating how a self-reflexive approach provides an alternative axiology to those associated with previous, positivistic paradigms.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In chapter 3 I outline my methods of data collection and analysis. In this respect, ethnography is presented in accordance with the hybrid rural epistemology described in chapter 2 (Epistemological Stance). Ethnography has become increasingly popular in the sociology of music, particularly concerning the urban realm. Relatively few, however, have explored folk music (Dowling, 1996; Hield, 2010; Leonard, 2005; Morton, 2005; Stock, 2004; Tansey, 1996) and the rural (Feintuch, 1995; 2006; Knox, 2008; Shelemay, 2006; 2011; Yarwood & Charlton, 2011). Yet, Grazian (2003; 2004) argues, the ethnographic, qualitative form may be the best suited to exploring the complex relationships between musical production, product, community and place. In the first part of the chapter, after an overview of the research, participant biographies and ethical considerations (3.1), I introduce ethnography as my chosen methodology in section 3.2, Data Retrieval. I discuss access to participants, recruitment and rapport (section 3.2.1). I then introduce and evaluate the techniques of participant observation (3.2.2) and depth interviewing (3.1.3), grounding them within a working definition of ethnography. Incorporating multiple methods into the research design is generally felt to provide insurance for the acuity of analytical interpretation (see Silverman, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

In the chapter I reflect upon my positionality as a researcher, my research orientations, and my experiences in the field (Šikić-Mićanović, 2010). In the second part I therefore turn to the conduct of qualitative social research showing how the implications of the 'postmodern critique' have destabilized epistemic validity in interpretive paradigms thus obliging a transparent, reflexive approach to all aspects of ethnographic rural research (Heley, 2011; Crow, 2008). I present a case for progressing beyond mere 'reflexivity' in ethnographic research and towards the inclusion of my own 'ethnographic self'; to refract this with the same weight and through the same multiple lenses as my participants. I consider the importance of my being a 'native'

Northumbrian and a singer of traditional songs and thus already occupying a (relatively) knowledgeable position in the field (Stock and Chou, 2008; Hield, 2010). I also comment upon the possible implications of my gender, age, class, and so forth (Milbourne, 1997). This aspect of the methodology, therefore, is an appeal to Huberman and Miles' (1998: 201) call for "regular, on-going, self-conscious documentation" throughout qualitative inquiry. In the conclusion to chapter 2, I suggested its propositions may direct ethnographic research and representation away from 'scientism' and towards more creative, hybridized and expressive forms such as those I have employed in the project. As I also expressed in the conclusion to chapter 2, my intuition is that rural social research may progress yet further away from 'scientism', and towards more 'creative' forms of ethnographic expression. This leads in section 3.4 of this chapter to a rationale and account for my use of filmmaking both as a means of ethnographic data collection and representation. *The Long Meadow* (2013), which accompanies the written thesis, I have used to illustrate the arguments of the analysis. The film is also presented as a self-reflexive statement about my fieldwork experiences in Tarset.

Finally, section 3.5, Data Analysis, makes the case for 'framework analysis', my choice of analytical model and how this accords with the hybrid rural standpoint.

3.1. Overview of the research and ethical considerations

Research for the project took place in Tarset between Autumn 2012 and Autumn 2013. Seven participants were chosen for in depth interview work. The criteria for participant selection were their self-identification as folk musicians and their participation in social life of the community. Figure 3.1 (below) offers a brief overview of these primary participants, their occupations, and forms of musical practice. The table also shows the means of recruitment, either by personal introduction by another participant, by my approaching them, or their responding to a newsletter piece on my research. Whilst each of

these participants were interviewed and provide the mainstay of the empirical data, other individuals who did not necessarily identify themselves as 'folk musicians' do appear in the analysis, their largely being accessed through other ethnographic methods of participant observation, research diary, and informal communication.

Participant	Occupation	Musical Practice	Method of Recruitment
David McCracken	Hill Farmer	Singer	Introduction
Anne	Retiree	Accordianist / Choir Member	Newsletter responant
Sarah	Retiree	Singer / Choir Member	Researcher approached
Hannah	Retiree	Singer	Introduction
Paul	Folk Music Educator	Northumbrian piper / Fiddle	Introduction
Johnny	Retiree	Multi-musician	Introduction
Gwennie	Therapist	Northumbrian piper / Choir Member	Newsletter respondant

Figure 3.1. Research participant biographical information

Given the small scale of the Tarset community, anonymity is not possible and individuals will be easily identifiable in the discussion. Due to the relatively un-sensitive nature of the subject matter, however, only an arbitrary degree of

ethical consideration was needed. Occassionally participants suggested more sensitive information and the omission of such details were negotiated at the time. Consent for the use of Christian names was gained from participants at the interview stage and interviewees were informed of the strict confidentiality of their audio recordings and transcripts. Thus to help remind me that this study concerns real people and their opinions, the Christian names of participants have are maintained throughout the thesis. As my main informant, I have included more biographical information about David McCracken in the text. Following the the format for data presentation provided by Hield (2010) direct quotes from interviews show the participants' name preceded by the method of data collection, as this may have impetus upon the nature of the data[58].

Observations on the procedures and activities were recorded in the form of a research diary, completed shortly after each such event. Due to my being quickly accepted in the community, and my role there as a researcher being widely understood, I felt that these observations did not require written consent. Often, I would also be recording musical gatherings with aid of a video camera and sound recording device. These were largely uncommented upon and presented less problems with consent than may be predicted. I decided that attempting to gather written consent for the use of a video camera would be largely unpractical given the number of attendees at public events. To avoid confusion and further intrusion than was necessary, I decided upon a system of assumed consent in such circumstances. In addition to this I made my camera equipment and myself obvious, happy to explain my presence to anyone showing interested and respecting wishes not to be filmed. Likewise, I avoided potentially sensitive subjects such as children. Interview subjects who appear in 'The Long Meadow' were asked for their expressed permission.

[58] Thus, an extract from an interview with David McCracken is coded (I~David) other forms of data retrieval would be coded as follows; Participant Observation (PO~David); Research Diary (RD~David) Personal Communication (PC~David); The Long Meadow film (TLM~David).

3.2. Data Retrieval

Ethnography is one of the most widely used terms in social research. It is sometimes contrasted, sometimes synonymized with 'participant observation' (Brewer, 2000; Bryman, 2012; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; O'Reilly, 2012) or indeed, a range of ancillary qualitative methods (Davies, 2012; Gobo, 2008). Ethnography's interdisciplinary usage has also seen it regarded with other methodological labels such as 'qualitative inquiry', 'fieldwork', 'interpretive method' and 'case study' (Scott-Jones, 2010). Ethnography is essentially "the production of highly detailed accounts of how people in a social setting lead their lives, based on systematic long-term observation of, and conversations with, informants", as Payne and Payne (2004: 71) put it. However, whilst the pivotal mode in ethnography may be indeed one of observation – to witness actions as they are performed in concrete settings (Gobo, 2008: 5; Payne & Payne, 2004; Silverman, 2005) - I take Bryman's (2012) suggestion that participant observation seems limited to just that, 'observation', whereas 'ethnography' implies a potentially broader schema[59]. Similarly, Julie Scott Jones (2010: 4) regrets the kind of ethnography presented by most student textbooks, it being a "form of participant observation (which it is) that entails a bit of reflexivity" - thereby confusing observation, as a *method*, with ethnography as a reflexive *methodology*. To this end, Brewer (2000: 59) claims that ethnography is not a particular method of data collection:

> But a style of research that is distinguished by its objectives, which are to understand the social meanings and activities of people in a given 'field' or setting, and an approach, which involves close association with, and often participation in, this setting.

Constructionist logic is now borne in most disciplinary uses of ethnographic methodologies. leCompte and Schensul (1999), for instance, observe that the

[59] For this reason I describe my methodological design as 'ethnographic', though it comprises other means of data collection, including but not exclusively, participant observation.

ethnographic position holds knowledge as highly variable, locally and temporally contingent, constructed within a draft of interrelated historical, cultural, social and geographically located discourses (Scott Jones, 2010). Social phenomena require an investigatory approach that acknowledges the singularity of their features in time and space, and the ways in which they are constituted through social practices (Packer, 2011; Veyne, 2010). Ontologically, "the purpose of [ethnographic] research", Charlotte Davies (2012: 6) therefore suggests, "is to mediate between different constructions of reality". Most pertinent to the rural hybrid epistemology (see chapter 2.), O'Reilly (2012: 1) likewise argues for an ethnography that

> … understands social life as the outcome of interactions of structure and agency through the practice of everyday life; that examines social life as it unfolds, including looking at how people feel, in the context of their communities, and with analysis of wider structures, over time …

Hence, ethnographic methods must acknowledge macro discourses, apprehending the wider social, historical and cultural context of *the field*, whilst observing the ways social structures take effect within the practices of everyday life, and the perceptions of the individual agent (O'Reilly, 2012). What is more, ethnographic representations must also reveal in their narrative the ontological complicity of those usually dichotomous modes of structure and agency (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1989). If faithful to this ideal, ethnography, endorsed by the kind of epistemology outlined in chapter 2, can pursue both the material/structural, constructed/agential, and practiced/experienced conditions of a hybrid rural framing. In the following subsections, beginning with an brief overview of the research process, participant biographies and ethical considerations, I then discuss my experiences of gaining access to participants, their recruitment and rapport building, I outline the methods of participant observation (section 3.2.2) and depth interview (3.1.3) in this respect.

3.2.1. *The Field: Participant recruitment, Access and Rapport*

The field can be conceived as the location for the practice of research (Silverman, 2005). Community studies need not be geographically located, but in the context of citizenship and place attachment, they most commonly are (Woods, 2006). That is certainly the case here. Fieldwork for the study was performed in the rural parish of Tarset, Northumberland. Finding an appropriate community, and the folk musicians with whom I might explore my research themes, took some time in late 2012. This stage Thompson (1988) has called 'general gathering', whilst Crang and Cook (2007) suggest 'casting your net' as wide as possible, utilizing existing contacts, colleagues and so forth. Tarset was, to a degree, an 'opportunistic' choice (Reimer, 1977). After all, "the ethnographer is rarely in a position to specify the precise nature of the setting required" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 29). In the event, Tarset also transpired to be an appropriate setting to explore my preconceived research ideas.

An acquaintance, now living in Newcastle upon Tyne but raised in Tarset, introduced me to what would become my subject community. A professional folk musician and educator, she was instrumental as a 'gatekeeper'; introducing me in the first instance to David McCracken – who has become singularly important to the project and thesis - and shortly afterwards to the 'Tarset Song Reivers' choir, which she leads weekly in Tarset Village Hall. Through contacts made in the autumn of 2012, I was invited to contribute a short text in the Tarset newsletter, distributed quarterly to the community, which outlined my research intentions as follows:

> 'Music and Song in Tarset'
>
> In my research work I am interested in 'traditional' music and song, and the ways in which they might be part of life for people living in

rural places. When Kathryn Davidson introduced me to David McCracken a couple of weeks ago, it became clear that Tarset is a place rich in culture and creativity; a place with living-traditions.

As a musician I am interested in Northumbrian traditions; in the songs and tunes of the county, as well as the stories and histories which make up our unique culture. As a researcher I am interested in the ways music can seem to reflect a way of life. This is not simply about the 'way things were' but also how, today as much as in the past, music can enable people to express something different about the countryside and its community. That is, in jobs and events, places and people, farming and shepherding; all of which are such an important part of Tarset.

Over the next 12 months I'd like to talk to residents of the parish – musicians and non-musicians alike – to enquire about your memories and experiences of traditional music and the ways in which landscape and community might play a part in it. I hope, by joining the Song Reivers and the Ceilidh-band project - due to start in the village hall in January - I will be able to meet more members of the community in this way: I certainly look forward to meeting more of you and talking about music and song in Tarset.

Jonathon Lloyd, PhD student with Newcastle University.

As mentioned in the preceding section, this newsletter piece was helpful in asserting my field presence and in recruiting some participants.

This introduction to the field therefore reveals ethnography as essentially a relationship-building exercise (O'Reilly, 2012). Achieving *social intimacy*, Herzfeld (2000) argues, is to facilitate the *cultural intimacy* we as ethnographers seek. In so doing, the researcher must draw upon a range of capital assets in order to perform adequately within the field (Bourdieu, 1979); personality and social skills are at a premium (Payne & Payne, 2004). For instance, my joining the Song Reiver Choir, populated almost entirely by older women, required my, if not modifying, then certainly monitoring my behaviour in order to gain acceptance. Perhaps more fundamentally, with David McCracken I realized was the first non-familial relationship I had made with a man of his age. This, I feel, is by no means an insignificant detail. Indeed, from the outset I felt continual recourse to self-reflection, upon my self-presentation. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) note the importance of

constructing of an amenable field identity in this way (see England, 1994). From my tentatively meeting with David McCracken and joining the choir, sampling began to take shape.

As I argued in the epistemological chapter (2), I intend no pretense to generalization in the analysis – to claiming 'the whole picture' (Silverman, 2005: 52) - nor universal epistemic standard in its undertaking. Rather, I am interested precisely in the parochial, quotidian narratives of the lived experiences of a small group of rural Northumbrian musicians – only then illustrating these observations with respect to broader rural issues in the literature. In her important ethnographic work, DeNora (1999: 33) holds a similar ethic, suggesting her

> "[…] interviews were designed to explore music reception in relation to the fabric and texture of respondents' daily lives. The aim was to illuminate this relationship at the level of actual musical practice, to explore how music worked 'in process' rather than elicit bald statements from respondents about musical tastes or about what music 'does for them' in abstract terms (e.g. 'music moves me')."

In this sense, my Tarset case study conforms to what Stake (2000: 437-438) has called the *Intrinsic Case Study*, where the single community, however heterogeneous its members may be, is of interest "in all its particularity and ordinariness".

The term 'sampling' therefore, is connotative of quantitative methods, and more specifically, positivist perspectives (Small, 2009). "Ethnographers", on the other hand, O'Neill (2012: 42) claims, "tend to worry less about sampling for representativeness […] It is not usual for an ethnographer to be overtly researching one group or sample as a 'case' that is illustrative of something broader". If characterized, I would describe my sampling as 'purposive', employed in order to access Tarset residents who self-identified as 'folk musicians', and whose practices and beliefs reflect my research interests (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; Silverman, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000)[60]. In

[60] It is worth noting that sampling was 'purposive', rather than 'theoretical', although the two are often held as synonymous (Silverman, 2005). An important distinction is outlined by Bryman (2012: 90) however, who suggests

practice however, recruitment also progressed through a degree of 'snowballing' from my initial key informants as I was introduced to or approached by further potential recruits (Payne & Payne, 2004). Such sampling is selective and purposeful rather than representative.

Having built friendly relationships with members of the community I felt confident to approach potential participants at musical events. Despite the general ease of access, recruitment, however, can remain problematic - even "a full-time occupation" (Sampson & Thomas, 2003: 173). As fieldwork progressed, I found that only a small number of depth interviews were possible, due in part to the small number of folk musicians (7) in an already small community. Although small, the sample size is not considered problematic precisely because it is the rich ethnographic data of indiviudals that the thesis seeks. Rejecting a positivist or realist treatment of data therefore, I have chosen an alternative which regards representations as "… accessing various stories or narratives through which people describe their world" (Silverman, 2005: 154). This hybrid approach, for which I argue in chapter 2, abandons any claim to data as 'factual' or an accurate representation or 'reality'. Instead, the interpretivist approach hopes to generate located, "plausible" accounts of the world (Gergen, 1994; Glaserfield, 1995; Holstein & Gubrium, 2004; Silverman, 2005).

At least two 'potential' recruits were simply unwilling to participate, or else evasive of approach. Such obstacles are not necessarily problematic; indeed, refusal to participate in a research project can also provide significant insights into the social organization of the setting (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Likewise, operating an inductive approach, the limitations of the field will ultimately influence the ethnographic knowledge. Thus, negotiating access can generate important knowledge about the field (Barbera-Stein, 1979). Of those with whom the ethnographer does have access, the importance of

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that theoretical sampling follows a logic of pre-given theory, "couched in terms of the generalizability of cases to theoretical propositions", whilst purposive, although foreshadowed by prior knowledge, is a more *grounded* type approach.

'gate-keepers' should not be overlooked: "To one degree or another," Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 59) point out, "the ethnographer will be channeled in existing networks of friendship and enmity, territory and equivalent 'boundaries'". This is also true of my fieldwork in Tarset. For instance, as time progressed, I began to wonder if there were any 'others', beyond my now usual group of 'sponsors' and participants, who may be of interest to me but had hitherto been 'invisible'. I began to ask questions to this effect, learning through my participants of 'another' part of the community, who, for whatever reasons, did not participate in the more formal communal events I was attending. The identity of this 'other' group remained diplomatically vague, though they were associated with 'the pub', as opposed to the village hall. Attempting to access this 'other' proved an insurmountable challenge, despite my best efforts at inquiry, at the pub and beyond. As Payne and Payne (2004: 74) compensate: "the single-handed researcher cannot cover all relevant physical settings at once … Even if this were possible, some sub-settings would remain closed". I contented myself with attempting to understand why my participants characterized other parts of the community in this way.

Depth interviews were conducted with the seven informants and participant observation continually performed at community events and on Burdonside Farm. The findings cannot, therefore, be generalised to all groups in the community, but are nevertheless telling of the relationships that people form with their place of residence over time. In the end, the small sample size does, however, cover a range of depth of involvement in folk music (Silverman, 2005). Some, for instance, were relatively new to the idiom, whilst for others it has been a feature of their social-lives for many years. The range of participants also covers Tarset 'natives' and incomers alike. Although I did not inquire specifically as to a participant's age, I estimate the figure to range between the mid 20s and late 60s, with the majority being over 50. Finnegan (1989) and Gardner (2004) both suggest 'folkies' to be white, middle-class, well educated professionals, between the ages of 40 and 70. In his singularly important monograph, *Music as Social Life* (2008), Thomas Turino describes

the shared characteristics of social groups (of gender, age, class, occupation etcetera), indeed those with capitals that tend to draw together, as *cultural cohorts*. Together these groupings tend to give rise to particular *cultural formations* – those middle-class taste cultures which will arise in the analysis. Likewise, I did not inquire as to occupational status, although this often emerged in conversation. The participants conform, therefore, with Stebbins (1992: 13) definition of the 'folk artist'; "they perform or produce strictly for their own (pleasure) and perhaps that of others in the same community, whilst making their living in some other fashion" (see Henderson & Spracklen, 2015). With David McCracken, his occupation as a farmer became and integral aspect of our relationship and the thesis[61]. In a positive way, I would describe my participants as what Spradley (1979) called 'encultured informants', displaying high degrees of cultural capital. By this I mean that they were consciously reflexive, responsive and articulate about their own culture. I found contacts to be well-educated and familiar with academia, leading to a general acceptance of my being there for that purpose. One community member, over an informal coffee remarked to others present "be careful, he's ethnography-ing us now!" Others would ask what my plans in life were, would I stay in academia and so forth.[62]

The attitudes my participants took towards me, and so our relationships, must also have been negotiated by my age, and perhaps more tacitly, their

[61] The attachment between farmers and land has been extensively researched, describing deep and embodied understandings of rural place (Dominy, 2001; Flemsaeter, 2009; Gray, 1998; Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2005). Whilst not the exclusive object of the thesis, these ideas will arise continually with respect to David McCracken, as well as in contrast to other non-farming participants.

[62] With David McCracken, during the later stages of my fieldwork with him, I perceived an agreeability towards my chosen course. Besides his good natured characterisation of me at a public performance as "doing a PhD or something" or remarking to a commentator on my having a camera; "he's always got the bloody thing with him". Acquainted with Professor Ian Russell of the Elphinstone Institute at the University of Aberdeen, organiser of the Cullerlie traditional singing weekend, which he annually attends, David often remarked on how nice a job it would be to "set up cultural events" like that.

perception of my 'stage in life' and my identity as a researcher. I did feel that my masculinity, albeit in almost indiscernible or unspoken ways, altered my field relations. I encountered a series of gendered roles during my time at Burdonside: Maureen often making meals, painting and gardening and so on, whilst David tended to the animals, using the farm machinery and so forth. Although a gross simplification, because both worked together on many tasks – it is perhaps only by custom and routine that they have negotiated their particular roles. Any gender stereotyping is also contested their daughter, who works closely with her father in the physical work of the farm – although, interestingly, some tasks such as 'clipping' (shearing the sheep in June/July) even she did not perform (on gendered discourses in farm labour see Saugeres, 2002). Nonetheless, I did not feel my acceptance on the 'yard', although undoubtedly warm, would have been quite as unequivocal were I a female (Heley, 2011).

My class – or indeed, a perception of my class - as a feature of my 'positionality' (Šikić-Mićanović, 2010), arose only occasionally and by-and-large, with non-participants in the field[63]. The relative absence of issue is, I would argue, by virtue of my engaging mainly with middle-class members of the community. In this sense, the habitus, the cultured 'self' functions in each

[63] As Moufti-Galani found in his participants, self-awareness was further enhanced as they became obliged to acknowledge symbolic boundaries related to and constituted by space. As the dispositions of agents are embedded in their bodies, such as in their code of dress and bodily appearance, rural ihabitants narrated certain episodes, which, by revealing the judgments of locals who reacted to their actions, contributed to their becoming aware of 'crossing the line'. There was one instance in particular, in which I experienced something similar. After a Christmas carol concert in December 2012, I returned to the Holly Bush Inn with the others. There, later in the evening, I became embroiled in a dispute with a particularly antagonistic, indeed aggressive and very drunk local man. After a long tirade, I finally realized he was attempting to articulate a class prejudice toward me because I was wearing a tweed jacket. 'I know the sort who wears tweed', was his sentiment. Perhaps this was an instance of my inexperience of such matters in a rural community. The episode concerns aesthetics, class, and 'appropriateness' is indicative of how not only meanings are imprinted in space but how they also apply meaning to space and to spatially related actions.

of the decisions of subject, field choice, access and so forth. These factors, of my gender and age, particularly with David McCracken, with whom I built the closest working relationship, I perceived a generosity, and implied by his consistent responsiveness to my questions, a certain satisfaction in sharing knowledge with a younger man.

3.2.2. *Participant Observation*

If ethnography is a mainstay of sociological research, 'participant observation', has been perhaps the most constant technique in the history ethnography (Brewer, 2000). Ethnographic research involves the observation of people in their natural environment in order to better understand them, and this over an extended period of time (Bryman, 2012). Indeed, the longitudinal, immersive *participatory* aspects of ethnographic fieldwork are perhaps its most iterated features (Bryman, 2012; Gobo, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Payne & Payne, 2004; Taylor, 2002). Pierre Bourdieu (2003: 281), in his eloquent critique *Participant Objectivation*, outlines participant observation as "…the conduct of an ethnologist who immerses her- or himself in a foreign social universe so as to observe an activity, a ritual, or a ceremony while, ideally, taking part in it". In this respect, the observational component of my methodology is an attempt to access understandings of the material/ structural side of a hybrid model for rurality. The theoretical interplay I have attempted to extrapolate through my ethnographic fieldwork in relation to more imagined/constructed senses afforded to the depth interview – Although the analysis chapters will show the two as intimately ontologically complicit.

Perhaps unlike 'traditional' anthropological ethnography, which Silverman (2005) suggests involves 'living' in exotic cultures, this sociological ethnography is focused upon a particular milieu within my own society. The benefit of frequent engagement with the field allowed me to continue fieldwork for a longer period and, indeed, for subjects to understand my dual role as

researcher and participant (Marcus, 2007a). The degrees of participation may also take various nuances in practice. Bryman (2012: 441-444) for instance, chooses a continuum of participatory involvement ranging from 'covert'/ 'overt full membership' (high) to 'fully', 'partially' and 'minimally participatory observation' to 'Non-participating observer' (low). In this light, it will likely transpire that the researcher adopts one or more of these positions at different stages of fieldwork; "field settings may mean that levels of participation vary and may alter over time" (Scott Jones, 2010: 7; Laverick, 2010). It is increasingly recognised therefore, that immersion may not mean 'going native' and that substantive relationships and knowledges can be produced where the researcher moves in and out of the field (Scott Jones, 2010; Marcus, 2007). Moreover, occupying a knowledgeable position within the field in musical ethnography has proven fruitful. Russell (2006) for instance, notes the difficult tenability of a 'neutral stance' in studying the Sheffield Carol singing tradition (see Stock & Chou, 2004; Hield, 2010). My experience was perhaps akin to that of Hield (2010: 25) who studied the Sheffield folk community as a newcomer, but one with already expert knowledge of folk music:

> This places me in the interesting position of being an 'outsider' within a context whose general structures I am familiar with and, as such, I am well placed to notice idiosyncrasies within this environment […] Whereas researchers usually undergo a process of transition to become participant, I have undergone the transition to become an observer

Gobo (2008) argues the 'insider ethnography' has long been a mainstay of sociological ethnographies, conducted in the familiar fields of one's own society (see Crow & Maclean, 2006). Added to which I am a native Northumbrian and a singer, and thus well equipped to address the field from an at least partial insider perspective. Ethnography 'at home', or more accurately 'near home', does require qualification, however. Strathern (1987) wonders whether or culture-specific systems of self-knowledge would influence one's perception of a familiar culture. From this problems arise; firstly, as Collins and Gallinat point out "What can we possibly mean by 'British' culture?" (2010: 8). To what extent can we think of ourselves as 'natives'? Even the (colonial) terminology of 'native' implicates over simplified

understandings of culture as a homogeneous phenomenon. Collins (2002), for example, argues that even if the researcher we capable of knowing when they were at home, the very assumption of the role of ethnographer is enough to again implicate difference. The presence of the research is a dynamic, which usually alters the natural setting in some way (Pink, 2006). These ideas, however, lend themselves to the problematic binaries of 'insider' and 'outsider' status, which I outlined in the previous chapter: indicative of the ethnographer's simultaneously or intermittently being both 'inside' and 'outside' the cultural code (Gobo, 2008: 7). I however, choose to recognise and to avoid such binaries because thinking in such a way is not usually part of the fieldwork process – instead I would inscribe the process as one of gradual induction. From my own experience, conducting my research just 30 miles or so from where I was born and brought up, the 'culture' I discovered is ostensibly novel and required a continual learning. Indeed, Scott-Jones and Watt (2010) stress the potentially abstracted levels of commitment to the subject, ranging not only from physical and social empathies but mental and emotional too. Thus, as Bryman (2012) notes, it may be foolhardy to hold participant observation as synonymous with ethnography in general because it may only figure as a superficial form of engagement. The ethnographic sensibility, however, the deep personal involvement in the field reflects a higher, more subjective level of physical and emotional engagement (Scott-Jones, 2010). Ethnography, hand-in-hand with the consequences of hybrid rural epistemology – that is, its social, historical and locational specificity and constructed-ness – has come to acknowledge ethnographic practices as a highly performative, *embodied* activity (Madden, 2010; Pink, 2009; Willikensen, 2009; O'Reilly, 2012).

During the 12-month research period (Autumn 2012 – Autumn 2013) I attended musical events in Tarset, and most weeks joined my key informant, hill-farmer David McCracken for a day on his farm, Burdonside, for the purposes of observation. Throughout the fieldwork period I attended a series of 'key events' in the community calendar; choir practice, a Christmas eve carol service; a Burn's Night Ceilidh and supper; a pub 'sessions' and so forth.

Some researchers choose to frame their analytical discussion around such 'key events' (for instance Geertz, 1973). Whilst these events do form substantial aspects of the analysis I chose to see them as the main occasions for participatory observation in the communal structures of music making, alongside which I could draw from my more frequent and sustained participatory observation on Burdonside farm. In this light, I have proceeded as Galani-Moutafi (2013) has done, to regard communal events, not only as musical performances, but those analogous for performances of rurality (Edensor, 2006). Combining these in the analysis with discussion of the repeated everyday practices and life histories gained through the ethnographic method, I hope to reveal alternative embodied conceptions of space and rurality. Indeed, beyond my attendance and, often, performances at community musical events, the mainstay of my ethnographic observation took place on Burdonside with David McCracken. Akin to the 'go-along' method described by Kusenbach (2003), this involved a kind of literal and metaphorical 'field-walking' (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008), whereby I accompanied David in his daily routines and participated as fully as possible in the day-to-day activities on the farm throughout the course of a year – gathering the sheep, bedding the cows, lambing and so forth. These walking interviews were effective at eliciting spontaneous stories and emotions relating to place and landscape (Evans & Jones, 2011; Jones *et al*., 2008; Wheeler, 2014). As O'Reilly suggests, this method can help one to accumulate knowledge over time "as we learn to do things our research participants can do, and as we do things with them, and as we become part of the setting, the culture and the group with whom we spend so much time" (2012: 99). Perhaps most importantly for the 'place' and 'landscape' aspects of my study, this kind of participatory ethnography encourages focus upon space and place; emphasizing context and sensoriality, 'by placing researchers in the mobile habitats of their informants' (Kusenbach, 2003: 478). Over time, this ethnographic practice saw David become the central

figure in my ethnographic account; such were the rewarding and often unexpected insights I gathered, working alongside him on the farm[64].

Image 3.1: Working on Burdonside Farm

The means of recording my observances was through a research diary, completed after each excursion to Tarset (Becker, 1998). The form of the diary involved descriptions of events I had observed, as well as conversations and so forth, and theses combined with my own intellectual and emotional responses (Sanders, 1998). The participatory nature of my presence at community events, and working alongside David at Burdonside meant that

[64] It must also be noted that depth interviews and participant observation are not separate in the field; success in both can complement the other in different ways (O'Neill, 2012). For instance, as Kim (2009: 499) has observed, regarding her access to immigrant restaurant workers, engaging in their everyday activities allowed her to ask increasingly sensitive questions: "To ask these personal questions, I had to gain their trust, which occurred gradually over many months. Most important was working alongside them". So it was in Tarset, where my weekly presence at Burdonside became part of the routine of the farm, and I was able to access what I perceived to be a position of real trust, where sensitive matters where opened up to me.

note-taking in situ was neither practical, nor would I have felt particularly comfortable to do so alongside my participants (Scheper-Hughs, 2000). Thus, my observations were made largely from memory, though I tried, in Rock's (2001: 35) words "not to preclude or censor anything that might be germane". Throughout the fieldwork period, as my interests and ideas developed, I was able to become more selective about what specifically I recorded (Scheper-Hughs, 2000); research problems were identified more precisely and new analytic ideas arose (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Nonetheless, the iterative-inductive nature of ethnographic fieldwork means that no conceptual and theoretical relationships were fully finalized until the analysis stage, for which a grounded approach was used. Thus my notes were necessarily an 'unruly and messy' accounts of what I hoped was relevant material (Marcus, 1994; O'Reilly, 2012). In 'writing up', the diary of participant observations is not quoted verbatim, but rewritten to give a fuller sense of narrative[65]. These observances are revisited throughout the following analysis chapters.

3.2.3. *The Depth Interview*

The bulk of empirical data was collected through depth interviews. The main impetus of the interview was to gather information about the 'significant realities' of the individual musicians (Fitzpatrick, Secrist & Wright, 1998). To that end, the interviews were more or less designed to access the individuals' beliefs and meanings towards music making, community and place; that is, the imagined/constructed side of the rural hybrid model. To this end interviews were focussed upon how the consumption and production of a cultural product (folk music) is, as DeNora (1999: 34) puts it, "part of the reflexive and on-

[65] To an extent, my film *The Long Meadow*, can be seen as a visual field notes – whilst I chose not to make written field-notes as such, preferring instead a diary form, I did keep my camera with me at nearly all times, such that it became an aspect of my identity in Tarset.

going process of structuring social and social psychological existence". Seven people were interviewed formally and interviews were conducted at participants' homes and recorded, with permission, using an electronic dictaphone device. Interview recordings were transcribed verbatim by a third party transcription service. As my research progressed I inevitably made closer 'working' relationships with certain key informants and as such, I have not necessarily collected a comparable amount of material from all participants. Other participants contributed to the project less formally in face-to-face conversation, as indeed did some of those already interviewed.

The interviews schedules I employed were semi-structured. This method I found most conducive to discussing complex themes in more discursive manner (Payne & Payne, 2006). This is because abstract concepts may not be addressed sufficiently by the structured interview or questionnaire. The semi-structured interview (for schedule, see appendix 1) was therefore based upon a relatively small number of open-ended questions and subtopics, which I used as a guide for the discussion. These 'guided conversations', Hochschild suggests (2010), are a candid, relaxed and intimate exploration and process of knowledge construction, and this faithful to the inductive and exploratory nature of ethnographic practice (O'Reilly, 2012; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Moreover, although the interviews were conducted informally at participants' homes, in their natural setting, as it were (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), I made effort to avoid their becoming directionless 'chat'. By this means responses may be further 'probed', seeking any necessary further elaboration at the interviewer's discretion (Payne & Payne, 2006). Likewise, to further avoid participants' feeling interviews were test-like and struggle to find the 'right' answer (Stock 2004), I conducted these in a style as close to natural discourse as possible. Indeed, the interview requires various skills on the part of the researcher in terms of management and engagement: The interview necessarily making a set of pre-emptive assumptions about the consenting participant, their beliefs and knowledge (Denscombe, 2001; Polgar & Thomas, 1991). Thus, as an interactional event, the researcher must rely heavily upon inter-personal communication skills and comprehension of not only linguistic

pointers but other nuances in communication (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). In somewhat classical manner, Payne and Payne (2004: 131) suggest the depth-interviewer "must still take care to avoid expressing their own opinions or suggesting answers". For my own part, I found it helpful and conducive to the conversation to express my own opinions in certain instances – remembering that the ethnographic encounter is never a clinical trial, and that the process of learning and knowledge constructions is mutual.

Documentary sources were also employed in the analysis, particularly song lyrics and tunes, which were made a point of discussion during the interviews. In this way, song lyrics were a means of response elicitation in which respondents were encouraged to discuss their relfections upon them. In a way similar to Harper's (2001) use of photo-elicitation in rural New York to prompt memories of rural history, so song lyrics helped participants to recall not only aspects of their own experience but also what Harper calls 'visions of a lost agriculture' (ibid: 16; see also Maclean, 1997).

3.3. Performing Rurality: the Ethnographic Self

As I showed in the chapter 2.1.2, the 'postmodern critique' has, albeit in varying degrees, challenged notions of objectivity in qualitative paradigms. With such a sensibility – for in many instances, qualitative research, besides its associated methods, is an intellectual 'mood' or *sensibility* (Bryman, 2012) - come a series of philosophical dilemmas. Such is this baggage, that qualitative research is regarded by some as "unhelpfully fragmented and incoherent" (Atkinson, 2005) or in the least "a broad and sometimes confusing field of study" (Flick *et al.*, 2004: 3). As a referent, the critique has tended to articulate problems already appearing in various disciplines: That is, in the epistemological rhetoric by which knowledge is legitimized and validated (Clifford, 1988; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Geertz, 1973; 1980; 1988; Rosaldo, 1988). It is no longer enough to say that through participatory activities,

interviews, diaries, and so forth, we may come to, in Ray Pahl's words, 'experience near' knowledges of rural societies (2005). Postmodern thinking has dismantled any *deductive* theory-before-research ethnographic mode (Berg, 2004), yet critical reflexivity cannot yield any simple form of *inductive* approach either: "Whether we are aware of it or not, we always bring certain beliefs and philosophical assumptions to our research" (Cresswell, 2013: 15; Oakley, 1992; O'Reilly, 2012)[66]. Thus the threat of personality – felt by modernist ethnographers - is no longer abated by one's 'professional armour; what England (1994: 242) calls "a carefully constructed public self as a mysterious, impartial outsider, and observer freed of personality and bias". With the advent of social constructionism, the self in social theory is no longer a discrete or unified entity, and is recast instead as a 'social product' (DeNora, 1995a; Garfinkel, 1967; Giddens, 1991). In this way, identity and biography have been resituated, in DeNora's (1999: 45) words, "as an abiding trope of modern Western culture, realized in and through practices - textual and social" (Atkinson, 1990; Berteaux, 1986; DeNora, 1995b; Denzin, 1989; Stanley & Morgan, 1993). Thus, with the 'blurred genres moment' of the mid 1980s, and the subsequent 'methodologically contested present' (Denzin, 1994),

[66] Whilst I do not intend to give a systematic interrogation of the nature of 'selfhood', I do hope to give an account of the role of the self in the conduct of ethnographic enquiry, with focus on the subjective nature of the research process, the experiences and reliance upon memory it entails[66]. A widely used means to approach the ideologies of personhood with social practice, to counter theories which present the self as a bounded agent of rational choice (Collins & Gallinat, 2010), is to employ Foucauldian analysis of discourse in practice (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Social constructionism also rejects the essentialism of the 'self', it being multiple and transient, always becoming (Foucault, 1979: 19). Constructed, and envisioned, across a multitude of contexts and situations, the self as a convergence of the individual and the social occurs in narrative self-construction '…the artful yet locally structured stories that comprise the contemporary self in practice (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000: 103; Collins & Gallinat, 2010: 13). However, as the previous discussion will have highlighted, the stringencies of social constructionism do not acknowledge any essential or singular nature to identity and self-hood (Burr, 2003; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Rather, the self, framed by the habitus, is a historically, culturally and interactionally contingent phenomenon; envisaged across a multitude of spheres and fields (Weinberg, 2014).

> … the time had come when anthropologists felt obliged to confront the uncomfortable fact that they were always already implicated in 'the field'; that they were, inevitably, constructing what they came to represent (Collins & Gallinat, 2010: 3).

If then, the postmodern object of study is, as Marcus suggests, "ultimately mobile and multiply situated" (1998: 390) and its representation in a thesis is inevitably the interpretative functions of the author; then reflexivity and authorship become the function of the study. The influence of this radical epistemology, especially in terms of authorial reflexivity, holds enduring and far-reaching consequences for the interpretive modes of ethnography (Marcus, 1995). In a contingent, constructed world, ethnographers must take stock of the 'self', in terms of their relationship towards the subject of investigation, that is the 'other'. The process of formulating a research idea, data collection, analysis and 'writing-up' can no longer be a 'mechanical procedure' free of political or ethical implication, specifically because the researcher is a participant of many discourses, including those of the academic field (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; England, 1994; Marcus, 2007a). Thus, the foregrounding of reflexivity is the critique of this connectedness; to question "whether the results of research are artifacts of the researcher's presence and [the] inevitable influence on the research process" (Davies, 2012: 3): Ethnographic knowledge cannot be adequately judged by positivistic standards[67].

[67] The positivist and naturalistic paradigms both utilized reflexivity, albeit differently and in accordance with objectivist orientations; reducing observations to ascetic distance in highly controlled, 'experimental' conditions in the former, or with high-level interaction and participation in the latter (Davies, 2012: 4; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). With its emphasis upon immersion and participation within a subject culture, whilst remaining harnessed to the positivism of producing knowledge about that culture, that the tensions of ethnography in the modernist period arise. As Benjamin Paul commented in 1953, "It is a strain to try to sympathise with others and at the same time strive for scientific objectivity" (Tedlock, 1991). Whilst the ethnographic notions of immersion and participation were seen as integral to gaining an holistic view of a culture, the failure to situate one's 'self' within that process failed to acknowledge or avoided the deeply subjective nature of 'being' in the field: "This means that, on the one hand, the anthropological endeavour gained legitimacy from 'being there' so long as evidence of 'doing

Indeed, ethnography continues to struggle against its positivistic beginnings (Marcus, 2007). Such uncertainty however, has not diminished ethnography's popularity (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Winston, 2008). Moreover, as Norris (1990: 182) says, 'it does not follow from the fact that we are living through an age of widespread illusion and disinformation that therefore all questions of truth drop out of the picture'. Ethnographic fieldwork continues to produce understandings of the social world with operational validity and practical utility (Williams, 1998). "We can work with what we currently take to be knowledge", as Hammersely and Atkinson argue (2007: 16), " [and] … still make the reasonable assumption that we are able to describe phenomena as they are". Likewise, to say that we 'know the social world' is, according to Malcolm Williams, 'self-evidently true' (1998:5). Thus it is the triumphal reflexivity I wish to promulgate. If we are to maintain a practical application of ethnography, we must understand it as a 'claim to social knowing'; a practice of social construction that also examines

> … one's own role in the construction of social life as ethnography unfolds; and that determines the methods on which to draw and how to apply them as part of the ongoing, reflexive practice of ethnography' (O'Reilly, 2012: 1).

The idea of incorporating the 'self' of the researcher into the process of ethnographic research bears relation to several of the significant developments in social theory that I have outlined in the first half of chapter 2 (Collins & Gallinat, 2010; Foley, 2010; Anderson, 2006)[68]. Researcher

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there' was eradicated" (Collins & Gallinat, 2010: 2). James Clifford (1986: 13) posits similarly that:

> The ethnographer's personal experiences, especially those of participation and empathy, are recognised as central to the research process, but they are firmly restrained by the impersonal standards of observation and 'objective' distance.

The notion of self-hood, although discernable throughout the history of ethnography, is often only present in subverted or tangential ways (Coffey, 1999), commonly through a supplementary fieldwork text or the 'arrival story' (Clifford, 1986; Geertz, 1988; Pratt, 1986).

[68] Though such texts remain comparatively scarce, the use of one's self as an ethnographic informant has since 1990 earned currency as a research

positionality has become an object of key discussion in rural studies (Crow, 2008; Heley, 2011). Indeed, for some time now rural studies practitioners have paid closer attention to the role of researchers themselves in the performance and enactment of the rural (see Chacko, 2004; Dougill *et al*., 2006; Edelman, 2009; Leyshon, 2008; McAreavey, 2008; Moseley, 2007; Pini, 2004). "Consequently", Woods (2010: 7) suggests,

> …attention has been focused on the practice of the researcher in mediating the production of knowledge, and the roles and identities performed by the researcher in enacting the research process.

Reflection and reflexivity have been centred in debates on how to achieve this, and how researchers may represent subjects in ways that facilitate understandings and acknowledge the value-laden, politicized nature of representation. These are the *sine qua non* for social constructionist accounts of the world (Pini, 2004; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). In rural studies this is reflected in texts seeking to represent previously marginalized voices and perspectives, seeking to allow 'a range of voices' including the researcher's own 'to speak' (Lowe & Short, 1990). Thus, in approaching the *rural hybrid*, through Northumbrian folk music, it is of utmost importance that full attention

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procedure (Collins & Gallinat, 2010). (Although, Hammersley (2006) and Atkinson (2006) suggest, the genre is certainly not as novel as its proponents may make claim.) The employment of one's own thoughts, feelings, experiences – that is, in the 'narrative of the self' – has proven a contested social scientific idea (Šikić-Mićanović, 2010). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) believe there is little justification for autobiography in social science – that in which the author is the sole object and subject of interrogation, an exploration of autobiographical experience (Pensoneau-Conway & Toyosaki, 2011). They note the commonplace criticism of self-absorption in place of sociological or anthropological imagination (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 205). Similarly, claims of narcissism, exaggeration, exhibitionism and so forth have been levelled at those basing accounts of themselves as the loci of research (Šikić-Mićanović, 2010) (See, for example, Ellis, 1998; Ellis & Bochner, 2006). Auto- or poetic-ethnography, as this style of writing is commonly called, is neither synonymous with ethnography 'at home' nor with the self as ethnographic resource. For this reason, an integrated ethnography would progress beyond the relatively conservative precincts of self-reflexivity (Salzman, 2002) whilst avoiding the mono-vocality of 'poetic auto-ethnography' and so forth (Bourdieu, 2003).

is given to my own positionality. The aspect I wish to elaborate upon here, then, is the notion of the 'ethnographic self' as resource in ethnographic practice and as a critical device for achieving greater transparency in the production and claims of ethnographic knowledge. The resonant claim of those who self-reflexively offer up their personal experiences, memories, emotions and beliefs for critical scrutiny is that their possible 'insider' status may allow important insights with regards the research process and its outcomes (Collins & Gallinat, 2010: 10; Hufford, 1995).

Knowledge of the field does give the ethnographer a particular and seldom discussed purchase upon it; particularly in the shared 'embodied' experience between researcher and participant (Skinner, 2010; Carolan, 2008). In this way conscious awareness of the selection of field site and subject may enable the researcher to draw on self-narratives, so enriching their ethnographies (Davies, 2012). By revealing how these intimacies were attained, i.e. through the processes of research historically omitted from ethnographic texts, may instead "reveal the processes of the production of culture and anthropological knowledge that we are looking for" (Collins & Gallinat, 2010: 15). Moreover, choosing to see research as a process, continuing even after a thesis has been completed would allow ethnographic representations, including the author's own presence, for interpretation and scrutiny in revelatory manner. That is, as Davies (2012: 6) suggests, to express "a reality that is neither accessible directly through native texts nor simply a reflection of the individual anthropologists psyche".

A statement of positionality, however, cannot fully account for the potential impacts of one's autobiography upon fieldwork (Mills, 1997; Oakley, 1992; Rose, 1997): Such factors may not be discernable even to the researcher (Grosz, 1995). Yet to foreground the position 'from which the researcher speaks' is to openly question and offer for critique the entire ethnographic premise (Collins & Gallinat, 2010). As Lau and Pasquini (2006: 554) put it,

> … positionality involves taking into account the factors which contribute to the shaping of a person's identity, worldviews and angles of perception ... positionality involves acknowledging these

> powerful influences so that they can be taken into account during the process of research

My positionality, that is, why I have come to conduct this particular research project, to make particular research decisions, to include or exclude particular information (Luttrell, 2000), are all shaped by my own biography (Abu-Lughod, 1991; Tedlock, 1991). As Šikić-Mićanović (2010) points out, race, age, class, gender, religion, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, personality are all cultural indicators of relational positions in society. Likewise, as Paul Milbourne (1997) notes with regard to ethnographies of the rural, researchers must take note of the dimensions of power associated to the middle-class, white, male voice when producing the worlds of others. Whilst I cannot alter these elements of *my* self, it is of the utmost importance that these are accounted for, rather than omitted from the text (Spivak, 1988). Indeed, the subversion of such details, Naples (2003) argues, actively reiterates the potential biases of positionality. For ethnographers to omit their personal experiences originating both during and before fieldwork would "at best represent an opportunity lost", according to Collins and Gallinat (2010: 17), "and at worst a moral transgression". Hence, the researcher should not be rendered invisible, Šikić-Mićanović (2010; 46) claims "but rather foregrounded as an embodied, situated and subjective self". These aspects of the 'changing cultural self' or identity are deeply important to the ways a researcher is perceived by a community, and importantly, how a researcher perceives a community (Caplan, 1993; Woods, 2010). In a sense the mediated perception of others, "always filtered through our own cultural lens" (Šikić-Mićanović, 2010: 46), is the ultimate social research may attain.

3.4. The Long Meadow: A Self Reflexive Statement

The acumen of the epistemological discussion (chapter 2) is represented by my ethnographic film *The Long Meadow* (2013). In a qualitative study, subjectively framed and in particular constructed in a reflexive manner, a

visual method can be an entirely appropriate component of a multi-modal methodology that also includes interviews, participant observation and other ethnographic techniques. "Visual material" Crow (2008:136) suggests, "offers another way in which community studies are particularly effective in giving readers a sense of life in a particular community". However, as a triangulation, the use of film in the current study departs from previous uses, which have often employed the medium as a subsidiary method, used to validate textual accounts. Indeed, many visual sociologists have "succumbed to the agenda of scientific and experimental sociology" in this way (Pink, 2006: 6), perceiving of film in a realist-positivist sense – post Mead – which continually upholds the image as 'data'. Instead I appeal for the film to be viewed as a more or less holistic, highly personal statement about my fieldwork experience in Tarset. That aside, it is worthwhile providing a brief theoretical treatise on my use of filmmaking as an ethnographic method, and the ways I have used it as a representation and source of ethnographic knowledge.

If however, as Pink claims, visual ethnography can have a *transformative potential* for ethnographic representation; then implicit is reflexivity in approach which continually addresses the centrality of the researcher's role as a research instrument (2007). Schrembi and Boyle (2012) for example in their work using visual methods to describe reality and consumer experience, claim:

> Ethnography is the study of culture and ethnographic descriptions are creative endeavours that allow researchers a window to the world of a particular culture.

The contention herein is that with the supposed centrality of the self in the construction of knowledge and the interpretation of meanings; the alternative to scientism is to regard the subjective, experiential and empathetic conviction of the author as the qualifying features of ethnographic research. That is to say, ethnography is always, therefore, implicitly a creative act in the sense that:

> The territory that defines the object of study is mapped by the ethnographer who is within landscape, moving and acting within it,

> rather than drawn from a transcendent, detached point (Marcus, 1998: 392)

Indeed, and despite being relatively little used, it must be noted that there is a long history of film and photography in the human disciplines (Banks, 2001; Denzin, 2004; Harper, 1994, 2004). This is particularly so in anthropology, where, Pink (2009: 97) claims, "the use of visual and digital methods and media in ethnographic research is now common practice". Similarly, there have long been calls for a 'visual sociology'. Harper (1998), for example, makes the 'simple suggestion' that sociologists "record visual aspects of reality as part of relatively conventional research activities" (Harper, 1998; 24, 1993; Schrembi & Boyle, 2012; Schrembi, 2009). In this light I argue, as does Pink, that the written word need not necessarily be regarded a superior medium for ethnographic representation: Indeed, she argues, "[visual media] should be regarded as an equally meaningful element of ethnographic work" (2002: 4 - 5). To submit, the use of a visual medium is unlikely to *replace* the written format in any study – and certainly not here. However, in an adequately balanced and triangulated research strategy, the visual may provide a form of ethnography which elicits those aspects beyond the remit of the written – which is also, it must be remembered; representational, interpretive, and constructed. This in hand, justifying an approach to ethnographic fieldwork which elevates visual representation - and in doing so embraces the qualities of 'ambiguity and expressivity' (Edwards, 1997) innate to the filmic medium but which are so alien to the nullifying sensibilities of scientism.

Nigel Thrift (2000a: 3) has argued that, despite the achievements of the cultural turn, and what we have seen as the 'third' social constructionist moment in approaches to the rural (Cloke, 2006), qualitative paradigms are tempered by a 'methodological timidity' (see Latham, 2002). *The Long Meadow* is an attempt to address this and a venture further into creative practice in the production and representation of ethnographic knowledge. As Carolan (2008:412) cautions in his treaties on nonrepresentational rural, "it is not that we cannot represent sensuous, corporeal, lived experience but that

moment we do so we immediately lose something". Indeed this is an irony of this final rural, that any representation of this sensuous, corporeal rural is limited by the very act of representation (Halfacree, 2012; Thrift, 2007). Filmmaking, however, as a complementary form of ethnographic representation to the written thesis, goes some way to providing an alternative and further means of representing this affective rural. Taking cue from Sarah Pink, in her article 'Walking with Video' (2007:1), much of *The Long Meadow* is given over to observing participants' everyday involvement with landscape "as they experience, tell and show their material, immaterial and social environments in personally, socially and culturally specific ways". Film may represent aspects of experience that are often unspoken and embodied were important to explore in terms of producing research material that could inform the production of a fictionalised film" (Fenge & Jones, 2012: 307). The element of 'fiction' is crucial, and indeed liberating, when regarded alongside the effects of the 'writing culture' moment discussed in chapter 2.1. Intimately personal then, *The Long Meadow* works on a number of levels through metaphor and documentation to explore and recount my fieldwork experience through 2012/2013.

It is my hope to express in so doing, that qualitative ethnography need not be one of limitation, reduced validity, solipsism or *laissez faire* scholarship. Instead, with optimism, the acknowledgement of constructed nature of ethnographic knowledge can open the door to alternative objectives and methodologies which embrace creative expression, reflexivity and the representational as equally valid knowledges (MacDougall, 1997), thus emphasizing the "interwoveness of objects, texts, images and technologies in peoples' everyday lives and identities … [exploring] how all types of material, intangible, spoken, performed narratives and discourses are interwoven with and made meaningful in relation to social relationships, practices and individual experiences" (Pink, 2006: 6). Presenting *The Long Meadow* as a self-reflexive statement, it is also an attempt to visualize landscape and music through the filmic medium. Indeed, it is that notion of *illumination* that underpins the following discussion, that a visual work – necessarily

constructed by the researcher – can provide an invaluable "holistic" representation of the field of research (Denzin & Lincoln?). It is in this way that the film augments the written thesis as an invitation to the reader's imagination (Crow, 2008).

3.5. Data Analysis

In this section I briefly outline my model for analysis. Ethnography bears that interviews, participant observations and so forth, bear witness to the texts by which people construe themselves (Potter & Edwards, 1999). With the depth interview I have attempted to access the 'significant realities' of the individual musician – and the constructed/agential nature of rural experience (Fitzpatrick, Secrist & Wright, 1998). Texts also imbricate much wider cultural ideas and normative assumptions. The term 'discourse' therefore refers to an instance of situated language use, such as the conversations between research participants and myself, their song lyrics and so forth; what Vivien Burr (2003) calls 'micro discourses'. Whilst 'macro discourses' – alternatively 'discursive objects' (Foucault, 1972) or 'social artifacts' (Gergen, 1994; 2009) – Burr (2003: 66) suggests, extend the focus of interest beyond the immediate context:

> … they are manifestations of discourses, outcrops of representations of events upon the terrains of social life. They have their origin not in the person's private experience, but in the discursive culture that those people inhabit.

Interview data and observational material collected during fieldwork was analysed using a 'framework analysis' model. Since the 1980s, framework analysis has gained currency as an efficient means for the management and analysis of qualitative data sets (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Primarily, the model has been applied to social-policy and healthcare research, more recently however, and because of its capacity to deal with mixed-method data sets, framework analysis has been taken up by researchers in other social fields

(Gale *et al*. 2013). Indeed, the typical matrix of rows (respondent cases), columns (thematic codes) and internal cells of summarized data lend the method to efficient 'comparing and contrasting', vital to qualitative analysis, both *across* multiple and *within* individual cases (Gale *et al*. 2013). The framework approach is particularly appropriate for the analysis of qualitative data, where emergent themes and discourses are based upon the observation of and accounts given by participants. This approach aided the triangulation system (Denzin 1978) as a range of sources could be viewed simultaneously, highlighting the depth of occurrence and producing a marker of validity. Empirical data is sifted, charted and sorted in accordance with key issues and themes (Srivastava & Thompson, 2009). In this manner, framework analysis allows for a systematic methodological treatment of empirical data, whilst retaining the interpretive 'meaning-making' element crucial to the construction of ethnographic knowledge. It can therefore comprehensively encompass the co-construction of knowledge between the researcher and participants, both collaboratively in the interviews themselves, and reflectively on the researcher's selection of emergent themes.

The systematic nature of the framework analysis method has lead to some criticism of conflated as overly *deductive* in its treatment of large datasets (Pope, Zeibland & Mays, 2000; Pope & Mays, 2009). As Gale *et al* (2013) argue, and related to the method's non-alliance to particular epistemological, philosophical or theoretical approaches, framework analyses may be performed along a continuum of deductive and inductive technique. The Framework Method, however, is not aligned with a particular epistemological, philosophical, or theoretical approach. Rather it is a flexible tool that can be adapted for use with many qualitative approaches that aim to generate themes.

As the current study employed open-ended research questions to seek participant opinions and cultural beliefs, and as such were not necessarily predicted by the researcher, a more inductive treatment of the data was necessary, allowing for unexpected and socially located responses (Redwood,

Gale & Greenfield, 2012). It is in this sense that the framework model may be preferable to other models of analysis such as narrative, conversation or discourse analysis, being more concerned with thematic elements of responses. However, as my semi-structured interview was also based upon an a priori knowledge of social theory (however general) and a more in-depth knowledge of community or ethnomusicological theories (for example), occurring during the preparation of the thesis and literature review. Therefore, because my own knowledge and research orientations (outlined in section) are an inescapable aspect of my 'self' as researcher, a combination of inductive and deductive sentiments where in actually employed. Similarly, *Gale et al* (2013) warn that the framework analysis model cannot accommodate highly heterogeneous data sources, this was not a problem in the current study as all interviews were conducted along the same semi-structured interview schedule. Likewise, field note observations were made with a priori themes in mind, similar to those of the interviews. These mixed-method sources can therefore be appropriately combined within the framework (Gale & Sultan, 2013).

Through the framework analysis process, sets of codes or analytical themes emerging from the data were developed and used to manage and present formulated arguments. The method therefore involves the construction of a new structure for the data that assists in the summarization/ reduction of large datasets in order to answer the research questions (Gale *et al*., 2013). Ritchie and Spencer (1994) outline five steps in a framework model for analysis; familiarization; identifying a thematic framework; indexing; charting; and mapping and interpretation.

In the first stage, I immersed myself in the primary data, by listening again to interview audio and reading transcripts. By familiarizing myself with my own data by reading and rereading the interview transcripts, I was able to note commonalities and initially emerging key ideas and themes. It was helpful at this stage to begin making analytical notes, thoughts and impressions in the margins of the transcripts (Gale *et al*., 2013). As Ritchie and Spencer (1994)

note, the volume of qualitative data collected during a particular project may inhibit analysis of all material. However, as the current study was on a small scale, I was able to perform analysis on all interview material. With the observational material made in my research diary, I chose to select those extracts most appropriate. In the second stage of analysis, 'identifying a thematic framework', I collated the emergent themes from the now familiarized data into a framework. At this stage it was important to allow the themes expressed by participants to form a thematic framework, this was then used to classify and filter the information (Srivastava & Thompson, 2009). During the construction of a thematic framework, the researcher must treat their data sensitively, being careful not to force potential emergent themes into their own a priori assumptions. Ritchie and Spencer (1994) acquiesce, however, that the entire project is likely to be built upon certain a priori issues and these will inevitably influence the thematic framework. In this instance, the issues of community; community cohesion; landscape; place etcetera were my object of investigation from the outset of empirical data collection. Thus, my thematic framework was generally built upon participant responses to questions on these themes. In this sense then, the thematic framework was already extant to a greater or lesser extent in the structure of my interview schedule. Nonetheless, this stage of analysis remains 'tentative' and open to redefinition during later stages (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994).

Devising the thematic framework involves a complex and interpretive process of ascertaining 'meaning' from participant responses. In this sense it is often logical and intuitive, rather than automatic and mechanical (Srivastava & Thompson, 2009): "The excellence of the research," according to Anslem Strauss (1987: 27), "rests in large part on the excellence of the coding". Indeed, Gale *et al* (2013) stress that the framework model is not a panacea to the usual issues in qualitative analysis, adequate "research skills are required to appropriately interpret the matrix, and facilitate the generation of descriptions, categories, explanations and typologies" (). In this sense, researcher reflexivity, rigour and quality, which I have addressed as a fundamental element of the project, become prescient. The model therefore

fits appropriately with my own epistemological stance, outlined in chapter 2, whereby the researcher's own subjectivity must play a role in the construction of ethnographic knowledge produced during data collection (in collaboration with the participant) and in its subsequent interpretation during analysis. Coding is not a precise science, as Saldana suggests, "it's primarily an interpretive act" (2009: 4). Listening to the interview audio helped me to reduce potentially overbearing interpretations, allowing tone of voice and expression as a further guide to 'meaning'. Likewise, I continually employed an iterative approach to the five stages of analysis, revising themes as necessary; questioning the relevance and importance of issues and the implicit connections I was constructing between them (Srivastava & Thompson, 2009). As Gale et al (2013) suggest, I also kept an 'other' code to avoid losing interesting data which did not fit with other emerging codes; such instances were noted in analytic memos (Charmaz, 2006).

In the third stage of analysis, the data within the transcripts that correspond to emergent themes are indexed (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). Each of the devised codes is abbreviated and noted directly onto the transcript where it occurs. Thus, in a framework, each theme is cross-referenced with all of the supporting data. This process is applied to all textual material gathered. I found that this 'indexing' stage was a valuable opportunity to reassess the thematic framework produced after familiarization and to question how much the evidence actually supported the weighting I had given to certain issues. In this sense the framework model is similar to grounded theory approach, which requires the 'constant comparison' across cases and the subsequent revision of each theme (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Boeji, 2002). Several iterations of the analytical framework were produced throughout this process.

The fourth stage, 'charting', involved the production of a diagrammatic framework. The empirical evidence indexed in the previous stage was arranged in charts corresponding to its themes. This means that data is essentially lifted from it's original context within the transcripts and field-notes, and placed in charts against headings and subheadings drawn from thematic

framework (Strivastava & Thompson, 2009). In my own analysis, as noted above, these thematic headings were for the most part already influenced by *a priori* interests of the research. Whilst data is 'de-contextualized', Ritchie and Spencer (1994) emphasize the importance of keeping note of which source the data arose from. Thus, as Gale *et al* (2013) maintain, the framework model allows in-depth analysis across the entire dataset (i.e. across participant responses) whilst each individual remains connected to other aspects of their account within the matrix and the context of their views is not entirely abstracted.

The final stage, mapping and interpretation, involves the analysis of the key characteristics as laid out in the charts. This analysis should be able to provide a schematic diagram of the event/phenomenon thus guiding the researcher in their interpretation of the data set. It is at this point that the researcher is cognizant of the objectives of qualitative analysis, which are: "defining concepts, mapping range and nature of phenomena, creating typologies, finding associations, providing explanations, and developing strategies" (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994:186). Once again these concepts, technologies, and associations are reflective of the participant. Therefore, any strategy or recommendations made by the researcher echo the true attitudes, beliefs, and values of the participants.

3.6. Conclusion to Methodology

In section 3.4, Performing Rurality: The Ethnographic Self, I emphasized the necessity for as full-as-possible self-reflexivity in conducting ethnographic fieldwork, to maintain awareness of one's own positionality and to continually question personal assumptions or conclusions. In an emancipatory manner, I suggest this approach may progress epistemic standards away from those of scientism, and more towards creative notions of 'value', 'integrity' and so forth.

Thus, ethnography must be tackled through a reflexive approach through which, “far from being threatened, all knowledge production stands to benefit considerably from a detailed regard of the many macro- and micro-social conditions that shape, facilitate and constrain it” (Weinberg, 2014: 21). In ontological terms, this ‘new ethnography’ may achieve something more than simply reflexivity. Recognizing the shaping of research by a researcher’s biography (Abu-Leghod, 1991; Behar, 1996; Tedlock, 1991), fieldwork must be acknowledged as the ‘total experience’ it undoubtedly is; requiring all of the intellectual, physical, emotional, political and intuitive resources available to the researcher (Šikić-Mićanović, 2010: 45). As Sarah Pink (2009) urges, ethnography does not simply observe, it engages the senses and emotions, both in practice and purview (O’Reilly, 2012). By not only acknowledging, but also incorporating ethnographic self-awareness into research design the potential arises for ethnography to be truly dialogical (Bourdieu, 2003). Reflexivity is therefore the critical reflection upon one’s own subjectivity and, in an emancipatory manner, the utilization of ‘uncompromising self-reference’ as a resource for knowledge production and, protection (Davies, 2012). That is, to engage in a critical vigilance, or rather, consciousness of the potential and inevitable inflections of the self upon the research process.

My fieldwork experience in Tarset throughout the period of Autumn 2012 to Autumn 2013 undoubtedly involved a great deal of my own cultural background. Indeed these experiences I have endeavoured to incorporate within my empirical data and to continually reflect upon as potentially colouring my understandings of others. Indeed, rather than simply contrast my own experiences with those of my research participants, I have attempted to show how they are a valuable and accessible source of ethnographic information. In the event, I conclude that any insider knowledge has worked only to facilitate my integration into the Tarset community and to assist in developing reciprocal relationships with informants. Ian Russell (2006) emphasises the importance of ‘reciprocity’ between fieldworker and informant, though paternalism and the exchange of a culture-come-commodity must be avoided. I found that a reciprocal value was, most obviously, present in the

performance and exchange songs – Songs in this sense, may be considered ‘gifts’. I found, as Russell suggests (2006:16) “The common interest in the musical traditions becomes a shared interest, as the distinctions between insider and outsider become transcended or tend to disappear altogether”. Thus, as it is difficult, indeed inadvisable, to extricate the ‘self’ from the immersive, subjective – ‘emotionally messy’ – experience of ethnographic fieldwork, shaping and directing data collection within a discourse of rapport and cooperation, this aspect of the research process must be situated within findings and not made invisible. I have made pains to envelope the discussion with admission that I am personally the interface between empirical data and representation and as such, the impacts of that must be acknowledged. In order to achieve analytical transparency, I have argued that, being a native Northumbrian and folk musician, my own ethnographic-self may be a resource for ethnographic data alongside that of my research participants, with whom my understandings are constructed through contingencies of interaction. Throughout the latter part of the chapter, therefore, I provided some concrete examples of how my position as researcher may have influenced my chosen subject and field, and how those aspects of my ‘self’ were manifest in field relationships.

Chapter Four: Folk music and Community

The central themes of chapter 4 are the concept of the rural community, and the role of folk music in shaping community constructions in Tarset. Argued in a sequence of ancillary ideas Tarset as a significant rural community is expressed through the relationships felt by participants between folk music, geographical space, and their social interactions. The discussion is augmented by my own ethnographic observations and personal reflections. Throughout, the interconnections between practices, spaces, and meanings of community are illustrated with reference to musical events observed in Tarset (Liepins, 2000a; 2000b). Thus, following the provisions of the hybrid rural epistemology outlined in chapter 2 the treatment of community given in this chapter is an attempt to rationalize the material/structural, constructed/agential, and practiced/experienced aspects of the rural (Cloke, 2006).

4.1. Introduction

"'Community'", according to Michael Woods (2009:91), is "one of the most powerful words to be associated with rurality". Likewise, as Liepins (2000a) suggests, the term has recently been 'quietly re-inserted' into many fields in the rural studies canon (for an overview of this work see Crow, 2008). My rationale for the use of the term is that 'community' continues to be one of the most compelling ideas in academic, political, and lay discourse (Fine, 2004; Panelli & Welch, 2005). Moreover, the term is continually present in my participant' discourse. As I showed in chapter 2, 'community' has been a standalone subject for investigation, and concepts of community have also been used to approach a plethora of wider issues of rurality (Crow, 2008; Goodwin *et al.* 1995; Halfacree, 1995; Hall, 1990; Harper, 1989; Liepins, 2000a; 2000b; Panelli, 2006; Panelli & Welch, 2005). As Liepins (2000a)

shows, community has been employed in analyses of rural exclusion and 'otherness' (e.g. Cloke, 1993; Cloke & Little, 1997; Pratt, 1996); in works on rural sustainability (Edwards, 1998; Marsden, 1998); and in terms of 'rural change' (Goodwin *et al.*, 1995; Murdoch & Marsden, 1994). Community emerges as a signifier of both research scale and as a social phenomenon *per se* (Liepins, 2000a; 2000b; Panelli & Welch, 2005). The spatial characteristics of `communities' also enable us to draw on the multiple notions of space and place identified later in the thesis. Many rural community studies have employed a spatial concept of `community' inasmuch as it is seen as a social phenomenon indicative of a local scale of activity and a relatively bounded, placed-based sense of connection. Mattson (1997) and Silk (1999) refer to these examples as `place-based' or `territorial' `communities', whilst Bryden (1994: 44) describes them as `physical or social communities such as villages, watersheds or islands' where there is an assumption that shared interests overlap with physical localities. These place-based `communities' indicate the importance of a material, bio-physical space in which people build cultural and political practices and meanings. Matless' (1994: 77) reading of `the English Village' provides a cultural geography of this kind as he accounts for how village relations are connected to the surrounding environment and how this physical space is culturally layered through different discourses about `landscapes', `watersheds' and `open countryside'. The Tarset community, if not place-bound – it being a relational construct in terms of other structures - is at least place-*orientated* and geographically definable in this way.

Despite, or perhaps because of its enduring popularity, however, for rural geographers, sociologists, and anthropologists alike, 'community' has fluctuated in value as an object and tool for examination of the rural (Harper, 1989; Hoggart, 1990; Liepins, 2000a; Murdoch & Pratt, 1993; Young, 1990). The term remains conceptually fragmented and elusive of regular interdisciplinary definition (Bell & Newby, 1971; 1976; Crow, 2008). Only broadly may community be talked of as a shared interest uniting people; a common ecology or locality; or a common social system or structure (Rapport

& Overing, 2000). As the discussion in chapter 2 suggests social collectivities necessarily exist but to talk of them as 'wholes', as is the common inference of structural functionalist accounts, is to abstract beyond the complexities apparent to ethnographic observation. Such approaches have been criticized for presenting social life as "completely external and objective" (Calhoun, *et al.*, 2002: 259) and more often than not, idealized and homogeneous. Social constructivism, on the other hand, takes community to be a variously and continuously negotiated construction, existing subjectively in the minds of its agents (Cloke et al., 1997; Day 1998; Goodwin et al., 1995). Whilst this subjective 'second rural' is now widely represented in the rural studies corpus (Bell, 2007; Woods, 2003; 2010) it problematically tends to show social life as much more contingent and less structured than it may actually be (Calhoun *et al.*, 2002; Carolan, 2005; 2008; Harper, 1989) [69]. I too am reticent to propose any distinctive definition to 'community' choosing instead to keep the term theoretically 'relaxed' (Cloke, 2006: 26) such that imaginative, material and practised ruralities may be revealed as "intrinsically and dynamically entwined" in lay discourses (Woods, 2009: 851-852). After Hield (2010), I therefore employ community in a 'common-sense' fashion, showing it as it is

[69] Peter Hamilton points out that as 'community' was proposed redundant by sociologists and anthropologists, it being too at odds with modernity, people across the industrialised West were continuously asserting their membership of '*communities'*; 'communities' "which were real enough for them if not for those who ought to be studying them" (ibid, 1985:7). These 'meanings' are invariably culturally normative prescriptions. Indeed, there is a tendency in popular and political discourse to talk of 'community' as a kind of functioning entity; that it may act of its own volition; suffer detriment or advantage; 'come together': That certain communities have certain characteristics and so forth. A similar view has long been the mainstay of sociological treaties on 'community' likewise. To this end Silk (1999: 8), in the guest editorial preface to a special edition of the journal *Environment and Planning* suggests 'community' is 'common needs and goals', a 'sense of common good', of 'shared lives', 'culture', 'views of the world', and of 'collective action'. Indeed, the internalization of notional values such as 'community' is an idea firmly rooted in the sociology of knowledge and the *social construction of reality*. If 'community' in the postmodern age is to be maintained we must engage with 'community' in *use*, i.e. through the discursive ways in which the 'community' idea is attributed meaning and how meaning is formed across 'difference' and heterogeneity in both spatial and temporal circumstances.

expressed through participant music making and discourse. This 'implicated' or 'processual community' in effect takes us closer to the lay narratives a hybrid rural approach must seek (Phelan, 2008). Such a 'community as a process' is evident in various successful ethnomusicological works including Barz (2006), Feintuch (2001; 2005), and Hield (2010). The constructed/agential community must therefore be considered ontologically complicit with the structural and material spaces it occupies (Halfacree, 1993; Liepins, 2000a; 2000b) as well as the practiced/experienced ideas of more-than-representational approaches[70].

As approaches to 'community' have progressed in rural studies, so too have analyses of the relationships between music and society (Born, 2005). As Shelemay (2011) suggests, 'community' has attained status across various disciplines, and 'communities' have been of primary concern to both ethnomusicologists and sociologists of music for some time (Barz, 2006; DeNora, 2000; Mattern, 1998). Ideas (and ideologies) of 'community' have also been a recurring theme in the English folk revivals (Bohlman, 1988; Feintuch, 2006; Finnegan, 1989; Leck, 2012; Mackinnon, 1993; Richards, 1992). Indeed, social interaction and the particular structures of socialization are central and identifying characteristics of folk music communities (Becker, 2008; Christenson & Roberts, 1998; Hield, 2010; Mackinnon, 1993; Stebbins, 1992). Similarly, the impacts of social, historical and geographical structures have interested musical sociologists in recent years (Blackstone, 2011; Marshall, 2011; Roy & Dowd, 2010). Folk music, therefore, is particularly prescient to ideas of socialization and spatiality in community construction (Boyes, 1993; Hield, 2010; MacKinnon, 1993). Folk music can form an aspect of community and place in various ways, often reaffirming representations of the rural and challenging them (Halfacree, 2006b; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). Communally, music can provide a bridge between individual and communal perceptions (Leck, 2012) and, as Shelemay (2006) has shown, it is this

[70] This theoretical interplay I have attempted to extrapolate through my ethnographic fieldwork and will represent in the discussion, using Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical vocabulary were necessary.

interface by which individuals situate themselves within the collective. Indeed, music forms a part of the identity of musicians (Conway & Borst, 2001; Leonard, 2005; Morton, 2005) and an animating force in everyday life (Prior, 2011). In this sense music can demarcate, affirm and contest community boundaries, analysis of which may tie necessary broader socio-cultural analyses with individual subjectivities. In this light folk music is an interesting lens through which to explore the ways a rural community is constructed, enacted, and self-empowered.

What is clear, however, is that relatively few sociological works concern community based folk music making in terms of identity and social cohesion (Richards, 1992). Still less, in Britain at least, have conducted such works through in-depth ethnographic methods (though notable examples do precede the current study (see Hield, 2010; Richards, 1992; Russell, 2003; 2006)). On the whole, such literature tends to be particularly orientated towards urban centres (Bennett & Peterson, 2004; Chambers, 1985; Cohen, 1991; Keeling, 2012; Krims, 2007) with a relative paucity concerning rural 'places' (Knox, 2008; Shelemay, 2011). This is surprising when "traditional cultures", such as folk music, McGrath and Brennan (2011: 342) argue, "allow citizens to participate purposively in the creation, articulation, and maintenance of efforts designed to support and/or change social structures". As such 'community' is a dynamic field of social interactions through which collective capacity may be enlisted for positive, endogenous development (McGrath & Brennan, 2011). Yet, there is also little research regarding this process in terms of community development (Brennan, Flint, & Luloff, 2009), in the socializing functions of traditional music (Leck, 2012), and still less the role of musical performance in representations of rurality (Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). That modalities of collective experience of music have been a mainstay of ethnomusicological literature for decades therefore, Shelemay (2011: 354) states, "renders even more striking the dearth of critical discussions about concepts of community in musical scholarship". Moreover, this is despite a healthy scholastic interest in geographies of music (Anderson *et al.*, 2005; Connell and Gibson, 2003; Leyshon *et al.*, 1995; Smith, 1997; 2000) including sonic/aural

psychogeographies of ‘place’ (Long, 2013; Matless, 2013). In this chapter I attempt to redress these imbalances and contribute to the literature new understandings of the role folk music can play in the social cohesion, wellbeing, and identity of the Tarset community.

How then, and why, does folk music appear to play several functions in Tarset? Does folk music provide a sense of individual and/or communal identity? Through what structures and spaces does it manifest? Referring again to my original research questions, in this chapter I hope to answer:

How does folk music shape musicians’ sense of ‘community’ in Tarset?

a. Does engagement with folk music influence what ‘community’ means to musicians?
b. How far do musical practices influence community cohesion and individual wellbeing?
c. Do the particular social structures and physical spaces of musical events engender feelings of social inclusion or exclusion among musicians?

I shall therefore indicate in this chapter some of the ways the broader concepts common to rural studies - of in-migration (Cloke, 2006a; Panelli, 2006) and the rural idyll (Short, 2006; Bell, 2006); the performance of rurality (Edensor, 2006); social exclusion/inclusion (Milbourne, 2006; Shucksmith, 2010; Sibley, 2006) and the possibility of ‘rural others’ (Cloke, 2006b; Cloke & Little, 1997; Halfacree, 1993; Milbourne, 1997; Philo, 1992). Indeed, drawing upon the various stages for musical performance in Tarset, I shall show, although they were perhaps necessarily difficult for me to observe, thenpresence of ‘others’ who either would or could not participate in musical events. Thereby revealing potential “geographies of inclusion and exclusion, inviting communal identification, and making rhetorical link between material evidence and ideological aspiration” (Revill, 2000: 610).

Employing evidence drawn from ethnographic interviews, participant observation and examples of song and tune - as well as my own personal

reflections – I discuss these relationships, representing them as I have observed and enquired after them in Tarset.

4.1.1. *Chapter Overview*

The chapter is arranged into the three broad analytical subsections provided by Liepins' (2000a) community model, approaching respectively the 'meanings', 'practices', and 'spaces and structures' of community – though these, like their counterparts in the 'formal representations', 'lived experiences', and 'localities', of Halfacree's (2006a) model for rural space, will be seen as closely interdependent. Leipins' framework places emphasis upon individual subjectivity treating community members as a heterogeneous collective who "constantly locate themselves in multiple positions and groups" (Liepins, 2000a; 30). Their roles are thus integral to the 'community' construction and the articulation of 'shared' values, beliefs and traditions. As such they are indicators of community's 'performance', on various 'stages', and as a performance of the rural likewise (Edensor, 2006)[71]. In the first part of the chapter (4.2 Musical Meanings: Aspects of Community Identity) I explore the ways 'meanings' of community are manifest in the assumption of a distinctive community identity in Tarset among participants. I illustrate some of the ways middle class taste cultures towards the rural are concordant with folk music (Bell, 2006; May, 1996a; 1996b). This entails a discussion firstly of participant representations of the character of the Tarset community, especially from 'incomer' perspectives, and the senses in which they have cultured a sense of 'elective belonging' (section 4.2.1). By 'elective belonging', I refer to the ways participants subscribe to particular ideologies of community, constructing a sense of boundary through their musical practices. This leads in

[71] In both analysis chapters I refer continually to Tim Edensor's (2006) 'performance' metaphor. This is a means to understand the often-competing presentations of 'the rural' amongst rural actors at the interesting nexus with performance of folk music.

section 2.2.2 to a deeper discussion on how a particular individual can come to express and embody the particular aspirations of the community. Primary research participant, David McCracken, and his song 'Walk with me', are shown as emblematic of 'authenticity' and symbolic of community membership.

Thus, in the capacity for collectivized action, the 'imagined community' is made manifest through its enactment or performance (Anderson, 1983). Such 'Meanings', however, must rely on social practices for their circulation, challenge, and reiteration (Liepins, 2000a). Or, in the words of Liepins' model, 'meanings legitimate practices' and 'practices enable the circulation and challenging of meanings'. In the second part of the chapter, 4.3 Musical Practices – Aspects of Community Participation, therefore, I turn to the specificities of musical practices in Tarset. Practices are the 'mechanisms' by which socially constructed 'meanings' and 'knowledges' are exchanged - ceilidhs, sessions and choirs, for instance, and their spatial settings - are the behaviours, social assemblages and material to which the 'community' symbolically attaches 'meaning'. As such, in section 4.3.1 I address what Leck (2012) calls folk music's 'socializing function', that is, the capacity for the social practices of music making to form an important functional aspect in the iteration of the Tarset community between its members. In the second part of section 4.3, I examine in greater depth some of these practices through the roles of motivated individuals (4.3.2). Occupying powerful positions in the community structure, these people have the capacity to alter and influence the make-up of musical practices.

Through the analysis, I also illustrate various 'stages' for performing the rural I observed during my fieldwork in Tarset. Indeed, it was through my ethnographic observations that I was able to identify multifarious performances of rurality, both in and out of public view. Here, Wylie (2002: 251) suggests, everyday quotidian practices are variously enabled and constrained by the affordances of space – "a concrete and sensuous concatenation of material forces". Thus, if practices enable the exchange and

confirmation of social meanings, the spaces and structures that accommodate social practices also enable the *materialization* of meanings (Liepins, 2000a). "Practices", therefore, such as those described in section 4.3, "occur in spaces and through structures, and shape those spaces and structures", whilst those spaces and structures simultaneously "affect how practices can occur" (Liepins, 2000a). Thus in section 4.4 I turn directly to the spatial settings in which musical events take place in Tarset. These are the 'stages', not only for musical performance, but also for the performance of rurality and community (Edensor, 2006). In section 4.4.1, Structures of Musical Events, I focus upon how community music making is structured, arguing how the formal, repetitive nature of those events acculturates a sense of stasis and continuity. Leipins' (2000a) model also refracts the constructed/agential community idea against the physical and discursive constraints of the structural stages. In section 4.4.2, I visit a stage for performing music in Tarset, seeing such stages for musical performance as metaphorical stages for the 'performance of rurality'. This comparison allows an interesting avenue to understandings of the relationships between rural community, folk music, and the ways settings may exclude as a well as encourage participation.

4.2. Musical Meanings – Aspects of Community Identity

Paul Cloke suggests the rural has become a "material object of lifestyle desire for some people – a place to move to, farm in, visit for a vacation, encounter different forms of nature, and generally practice alternatives to the city" (2006: 18). Certainly participants see Tarset as significantly different to the urban:

> … I do in the city. I do remember and I take my handbag and make the things are out of the car in the boot, so my behaviour has to change when I'm in the city. But here is it trust or is it carelessness? It's hard to define, isn't it, really? I've never locked my car here (I~Anne)

None of my participants is a Tarset 'native', in the sense that they have spent their entire lives in the parish. Indeed, the countryside has witnessed unprecedented levels of demographic change in recent decades, patterns of migration and gentrifitcation have inspired our reappraisal what the rurality means and to whom it belongs (Woods, 2005a). Tarset is not immune from such pressures and changes and to a greater extent the study concerns community constructions of significant 'incomers'. In Anne, who returned to Greenhaugh with her husband later in life, I sensed a prick of social conscience in the gentrification of the area:

> So the houses here, they're substantially bigger and better than they were certainly 20 years ago, certainly 40 years ago, certainly 50 years ago. There's no little kind of bothy type houses in this area anymore. Have a look at these [shows me an estate agency advert], the houses around here are beautiful. They're just absolutely beautiful, and they weren't, Johnny. They were teeny little ratty kind of places before, so that's been a big, big change to this area. If you see the houses that are up for sale in this area, and there are quite a few. Greenhaugh Hall's on the market for £1.4 million. That's a lot of money, isn't it? […] They're expensive houses. But they're lovely because they've had the damp proof courses done, they've had the roof sorted, they've had the insulation and what have you, so that changes. So the people who are coming into this area, they've got a few bob, because you need a few bob (I~Anne)

Tarset is a place that has come to embody the lifestyle choices of a largely in-migrant community and it is these aspirational migrants who 'expect' to find a particular community upon arrival. In this section I explore what Tarset 'means' to participants, illustrating their socially constructed accounts of their rural community, and music making; its potential to create "geographies of inclusion and exclusion, inviting communal identification, and making rhetorical link between material evidence and ideological aspiration" (Revill, 2000: 610). I also explore the ways participants describe a sense of belonging to the Tarset community and the ways they construct this belonging in a sense of bounded identity. Such regularities (social practices, modes of behaviour) can be evident in groupings typically with a similar social makeup, suggesting why people occupying similar positions in social space are "likely to develop similar lifestyles, outlooks, dispositions and a tacit sense of their

place in the world" (Crossley, 2005: 95 in Shucksmith, 2012: 6). These community commonalities and meanings I hinge around the idea of 'elective belonging' outlined by Halfacree and Riviera (2012). In the second part of the section, I look more specifically at David McCracken's role in the Tarset community, showing him to be symbolic of the ideologies and aspirations of those for whom he has become an 'authentic voice'.

4.2.1. *Elective Belonging*

"How do folk musicians enter a field of production?" ask Henderson and Spracklen (2015: 215). Or, to reorientate the question, why do participants make music in a communal way in Tarset? What are their demographic make-ups, their life trajectories (Stebbins, 1992)? The majority of my interviewees were born into families or became close with others with some sort of folk music interest. David McCracken fondly recalls correcting and reminding his uncle Rex of the words to the songs that are now a part of his own repertoire – a form of oral transmition he finds repeating between himself and his own grandson (RD~David)[72]. Sarah remembers her parents singing folk standards; for Hannah, music making was always a part of her local culture. For Anne, the cultural ecology of her youth instigated her musical pathway:

> There was no choice about whether you did singing or not. We all sang […] It wasn't sort of a choice. We just did […] We didn't think about it as folk music or traditional music. We sang Northumbrian songs and we sang Scottish songs. (I~Anne)

As I myself was introduced at primary school to the songs of the North East, to my parents' record collections, and finally to my friends and colleagues in the Newcastle folk scene, so others have been brought up with revival discourses within the remit of their social and cultural lives. Paul was introduced to folk music through the more formal musical pedagogies of the revival arena:

[72] "It's rather flattering" David says of his grandson, "he knows every song I've written, I think, but we're all singing the song, you missed your first verse, Granddad. I thought, oh dear, he's doing the same as I did with Uncle Rex" (I~David)

> I guess I got more into it [folk music] in secondary school when Folkworks came along. My fiddle teacher, or violin teacher, was quite pally with some of the older members of Folkworks so she got them into the school and we were guinea pigs for their new cracking ceilidh bands project (I~Paul)

As Henderson and Spracklen (2015: 215) suggest, the participants' entered an environment "that shaped their habitus and offered them an opportunity to gain cultural capital because of an absorbed musical knowledge". There is a growing body of literature suggesting that such tastes and commitments take shape within social networks (see DiMaggio, 2011; Crossley, 2014; Hield & Crossley, 2014, for reviews). Here, those ideas are complexly embedded in further ideals of native and incomer status, and of historical continuity and hybridity in localized music making. Various participants expressed ideas coincidental with their incomer status and the style of community they hoped to find upon arrival. 'We all moved here around the same time' George, the owner of Sundaysight, the farm across the valley from Burdonside, one day as he visited the McCrackens: 'Our children are all the same age, so we tended to get together when they were young' (RD~George). Those children are adults now, a few years older than me. It is as if periodical cycles take place within the community, for now there are young children again. Sarah indicates the role of music in this, when questioned on the significance she feels between her singing practice, the landscape and her adopted community:

> It sort of is and it isn't. I think maybe because people come in, maybe they expect there to be music, maybe they expect there to be a folk singer. Maybe it goes with being more bohemian in outlook, who knows? Maybe it's a bit stereotypical but there does seem to be an expectation. (I~Sarah)

Sarah is common in Tarset for her incomer status. Even the McCracken's were incomers thirty years ago, as Anne remarks, 'I see David as more of a guy from the Coquet rather than the North Tyne, because that's where he came from originally, didn't he?' (I~Anne). "But there are very few I think that are born and bred in the valley" Sarah suggests, "and maybe that's why the music's so important in a way" (I~Sarah). Through Sarah I wish to illustrate the ways folk music, or the 'expectation' of its practice in Tarset, is also an aspect

of a complex matrix of idyllic rural representations "underpinned by positively valued sociocultural constructions of rurality" (Halfacree & Rivera, 2011: 93). Arriving some seven years ago, Sarah and her husband have converted the old chapel at Lanehead into a spacious home. Previously she had lived in Nottinghamshire, but settling in Tarset, she has appropriated for herself an adapted sense of 'border identity':

> I think it does, I think it's not overt but I think it's there, even now I think it's a question of well we're neither English nor Scottish we're...it's our own identity. And I as an incomer feel that because I'm from north Nottinghamshire but I feel it quite clearly, it's not a no-man's land but it has very much its own place, it's own identity but it's difficult to describe what that is. (I~Sarah)

Her own parents and the musical mores of the second revival introduced Sarah, like me, to folk singing. "My mum and dad have always loved folk music" Sarah suggests, "so from when I was little there would always be dad on his guitar and mum singing along and then all the classics things like Steeleye Span and Dransfields, and Bob and Ron Copper, and The Watersons and all that kind of stuff that you got from the sixties, from the late sixties/early seventies onwards, so I just grew up with it" (I~Sarah). Sarah's own musical trajectory began in her teens:

> I used to busk a lot and I used to travel round...hitchhike and travel round and sort of sing for my supper in pubs and so on because a lot of that was in Ireland and Scotland. And it's one of those situations where you could turn up at a pub and you could say to the landlord if I sing for my supper and you can guarantee that some old bloke would whip out a fiddle from behind the bar and away you go. (I~Sarah)

And whilst the informal 'relaxed' environment of 'the pub' may encourage Sarah to sing, her folk singing prior to living in Tarset was largely "something private and something for the family and something for friends and so on" (I~Sarah). Otherwise, her musical outputs have been choir and choral based. Yet in Tarset, for the first time, Sarah has performed solo, unaccompanied singing performances, either at the Village Hall or on 'The Tradition Lives On', a compact disk anthology of traditional music in the North Tyne produced by

the Bellingham Heritage Centre (also featuring David McCracken). “Yeah, well I’ve done more singing up here than I ever have because it’s...a couple of people have seen me sing and said, oh would you do, would you do...? So it’s quite nice, it’s still nerve-wracking but it’s quite nice” (I~Sarah). Sarah is undoubtedly, in the words of van Eijck and Lievens (2008), a ‘cultural omnivore’, exhibiting combinatorial taste patterns in her musical consumption and production. It is in Tarset, involved as she now is with community events, the heritage centre, the village hall, that Sarah first began to sing ‘solo’. Sarah participates in the musical structures of Tarset, because, like other folk communities, “it is one of the things members of their community, or at least most members of a particular age and sex, ordinarily do” (Becker, 2008: 246-247). As I suggested in the introductory chapter to the thesis, capital assets may be acquired– the most obvious being repertoire (in either song or tunes), but also more oblique qualities such as musical competency, regional authenticity and familial ties - allowing one to navigate the field and compete in the complex ideological structures which govern, if not admittance and rejection, then status and authenticity, and these may be upheld, in George Revill’s words, by the “critical gaze of the folk circuit” (2005: 702). Any potential problematic associated with Sarah’s ‘incomer’ status is appears alleviated by the cultural capital of her folk music repertoire, however, which apparently conforms with the wider taste patterns of the community (Matheson, 2004; 2008). Sarah’s discourse perhaps reflects the ideas of place attachment outlined by Savage *et al*. (2005), particularly of ‘elective belonging’. By this the auhtors describe a kind of “residential attachment that articulates a distinctive ethics of belonging that has nothing to do with the claims of history” (ibid, 2005: 53). Thus, for Sarah, ideological aspiration has driven her desire to engage in folk music in Tarset, for an adopted sense of belonging and, indeed, a ‘sense of place’:

> But it does seem odd because there is an awful lot of strength of feeling about a home and a sense of place and a sense of belonging about this area and those are the sorts of conditions that you would expect to find local music (I~Sarah).

That is to say that Kate, and those incomers like her, rather than exhibit familial or occupational ties to Tarset, can instead place themselves in an 'imaginary landscape', and imagined community, that embodies their central sense of belonging. Tarset is, perhaps,

> […] a place where gender and ethnic identities can be anchored in 'traditional ways', far … from the fragmented, 'mixed-up' city. Within the rural domain identities are fixed, making it a white, English, family-orientated, middle-class space … [T]he rural is extolled for virtues of peace and quiet, of community and neighbourliness, virtues deemed to be absent from the urban realm (Murdoch & Marsden, 1994: 232 in Bell, 2006)

Part of Sarah's pseudo-historical inheritance, however, is satisfied by the historical and rural nature of the folk idiom. As Sarah herself attests:

> You talk to people about, it sounds trite, but having a spiritual home but you do get that situation with certain places where you feel a really deep rooted connection with it. Maybe it's just me but that's what I feel about this place and therefore from that point of view I find it difficult to imagine that I would be the only one that would feel that deep rooted sense of place and tends to be when you get people that write [music]. (I~Sarah)

The net migration of people to rural areas in the developed world has been marked since the mid-1970s (Beale, 1975; Champion, 1998). Representational examinations of this trend have tended present popular and cultural rural discourses as central to the phenomenon (Gosnell & Abrams, 2009). Alluring representations of rurality, what Cloke (2003) describes as the "centripetal force" that forms the "rural idyll", are a pertinent example of how socially constructed rurals impacts upon rural demographic structures and everyday practices (Halfacree, 2001; 2006; 2012). In Tarset it seems that, in part at least, the desire, if not to find a particular musical community, but to find 'the kind of community' that would nurture such ideals. "But in terms of everybody's love of music" Sarah adds, "I don't know what causes that because it just seems to be part of what it is here at the moment" (I~Sarah). Social cohorts, such as that which Sarah occupies, acquire cultural competencies by which they define their social identity and "the sense of the position one occupies in social space" (Bourdieu, 1991: 235). The expectation

of finding music as an aspect of community life is perhaps "a product of the bourgeois imaginary" (Bell, 2006: 158). The rural is seen positively as the 'other within' in contemporary cosmopolitan society; suitably both exotic and indigenous (Bell, 2006). Milbourne (1993) suggests the 'new rural middle classes' can consolidate their social standing by the exertion of capital asset (Cloke *et al.* 1995) and can influence socio-cultural patterns of consumption (Fielding, 1998). We might again accord this with recent literatures of on middle-class taste cultures, and particularly, as David Bell (2006) suggests, the notions of the authentic and the exotic in consumption-based class fractions (May, 1996a; 1996b). As Philips *et al.* (2001) also note the role and significance of cultural (pre)conceptions in rural in-migration (see also, Cloke et al., 1995; Cloke et al., 1998; Halfacree, 1994; 1995). It is in this instance that the pursuit of the kind of local 'authenticity' suggested by revival discourse becomes manifest in participants' desires for a 'traditional' style community (Murdoch & Marsden, 1994; Goodwin-Hawkins, 2014). As I have previously alluded, the demography of Tarset, and its high proportion of in-migrants, some of whom have actively sought the community as a fulfillment of idealized preconceptions of the rural have, has also contributed to its musical hybridity. In this way the historical movement of the rural labour force may be seen as a continuing trend; "rekindling traditions or inspiring unexpected appropriations or borrowings" (Connell & Gibson, 2007: 45). Anne suggests:

> Maybe it's because a lot of people are incomers and because they have made the decision to move to somewhere like this. And as well because it's part of the national park there's a sense of, I suppose, being caretakers of the land rather than anything else, but I think an awful lot of people that move here seem to have a shared goal in life and part of that is just being welcoming and being part of a community (I~Anne)

Anne demonstrates how the particular actors who moved recently into the community have exploited opportunities for socio-economic engagement in ways that relied on 'networking' and building economic and social capital, while culturalizing the economy in the context of tourism and constructing an

'aestheticized' space. The disposition of taste towards the rural is undisputable. This is evident in the many literatures on rural in-migration and the 'back-to-the-land' mentality often associated with folk music (Halfacree, 2006a) and the cultural function of music, allowing musicians to puplicize their adherence to a particular belief system and membership to a specific group (Christenson & Roberts, 1998). At the same time, the self-images they constructed are inscribed in and inform their performances. Though these actors produce narratives free of tensions and contradictions, within the context of power relations and politics, the material and everyday outcomes of their practices, at times, disturbed the social order while creating a new social and symbolic (spatial) reality within the community. This, however, clearly speaks of something that is thought to exist, to once have existed, or thought normatively to exist in 'real' rural places (Halfacree, 2012). Moreover, Bunce (2003: 15) goes on to conclude, those "values that sustain the rural idyll speak of a profound and human need for connection with land, nature and community". Thus, the pursuit of ideological ends, of represented rurals, have real manifestations in the performances and practices of those community members who seek and defend them:

> I think it is quite a big part because it's sort of automatic isn't it when you think oh party, you have a ceilidh band or you'll have music of some sort and it's not a community where you're going to go oh let's have a disco. I just think it runs under...it does run under things (I~Sarah)

In effect the rural as representation can be "deployed culturally, socially, and economically to shape existing rural spaces in myriad ways" (Halfacree, 2012: 392; Halfacree & Boyle, 1998). The structures of folk music making, therefore, with all the accordant ideological weight of what I have called 'folk ruralism' (see chapter 1), indicates the relevance of Tarset itself to participant musicians. In Tarset rural representations correspond to on-going practices associated with 'rural' places and communitites in more-than-representational ways. Yet Sarah's elective belonging also differs in complex ways to those of longer-term residents, such as Anne and David. Their place attachments, rather than being elective, are perhaps more embedded, "maintained,

strengthened, and acted upon by living in a place, by being born or marrying into a household, or by staying in a location for a period of time" (Low, 1992: 167). Anne most tellingly describes this embedded, historically place-bound narrative in her own life:

> Well, if you think of this area, not so much to do with music, and if you think of the names in this area, and think of the reiver families and yes, they weren't romantic. I mean the reivers were terrible murdering rapists, they were awful, awful people living in a difficult time and some of the names are Bell, Scott, Douglas, Armstrong, that's my family. My maiden name was Scott, my middle name is Douglas, my mother is an Armstrong, was an Armstrong. I married a Bell, you know, I couldn't be in a different place if I tried. Even if I lived in London, I'd still be part of this reiver family and reiver tradition. You just need to go different, like, shows, agricultural shows, and look at the people, especially the older people, and the Robsons still look like Robsons, big rangy men, strong men, big noses, you know. These people are still here, and I'm sure the music must reflect that as well. (I~Anne)

Thus, a sense of historical continuity is deeply felt amongst participants. This I have illustrated by participants expressing an 'expectation' in finding folk music style cultures, perhaps associated with their 'more bohemian outlook' (I~Sarah). There is a sense in which music making in the Tarset community is simply a 'continuation of what has always been done', historically charged, though having contemporary social function and form. As Paul claims:

> Never. I mean, in certain company you've got them harping on about the past constantly but in other cases I've just gone and played and enjoyed it for what it was. I guess I don't necessarily think we're trying to recreate the past, we're just doing what we've always done, or they have always done. There'd be a dance every other week and, you know, good things continue. It's clearly a good thing, people enjoy it, good to get together, good to hear nice music and to dance to it and then there's always usually a good supper. I have never thought of it as recreating the past. (I~Paul)

However, what makes the notion all the more compelling to its modern practitioners is the idea that, in the Northumbrian tradition, their musical practices are simply ongoing, unrevived; 'natural'. What is evident is that the Tarset community is promoted on extra-local levels, its own website being a

prime example of this. Thus in so being represented, its internal sense of moral ideal is imagined and reiterated in new ways:

> But I don't know because it does seem to be different to anywhere else that I've come across and I don't know what that is whether that's the place or whether it's just the specific mix of people that we happen to have at the time, but it seems to have endured. It doesn't seem to be just this isolated moment in time, it seems to be this...the community has been strong for an awfully long time (I~Sarah)

Anne also passionately describes her own familial ties to the Tarset of the past: "I'm here, I'm stuck in this land forever, because I choose to be stuck in this land forever" (I~Anne). This kind of embedded place and community attachment has often been explored with relation to farmers. Predominantly, the literature places farmers as "embodying deep, embedded and/or autochthonous attachment to place" (Cheshire *et al*., 2013) and in contrast with the 'mobility' and 'rootlessness' of contemporary society (Cheshire *et al*., 2013; Dominy, 2001; Flemsaeter, 2009; Gray, 1998; Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2005). Thus it is rural occupations, something I elaborate upon further in chapter 5.3, and statuses as native and incomer, which may denote differing significances of symbolic community and place attachments. Yet the seeking after 'sense of belonging', in places that exhibit continuity with the past, is especially significant within the rural realm as it is here, Edensor suggests, "that repetitive performances may reassuringly convey the illusion of stasis" (2006: 484; see also Harvey, 1990; Massey, 1991; 2005). Folk music derives from a similar aesthetic of stability and self-containment (Frith, 2000; Harker, 1985; Stokes, 2003) despite the evidence for its plurality and fluidity (Revill, 2005: 694). Thus the variability in performance (of rurality; of folk music) must also provide some sense of stasis or continuity. It precisely for this reason that landscape sits well alongside the folk music as, according to David Bell, a 'receptacle' for national identity – "a symbolic site for shoring up what it means to be English" (2006: 151; Wright, 1985; Cosgrove, 2003; Schama, 1996)[73]

[73] These material, structural aspects, are not however, considered as a fetishized 'container' but as "constantly produced, reproduced and (potentially)

and as a site of competing ideologies of the rural idyll (Short, 2006; Bell, 2006; Halfacree, 2006a). In short, folk music provides musician participants with a sense of their place in Tarset and a perceived sense of regularity in world-view amongst their peers. AS we have seen therefore, people with similar tastes are attracted to events sharing similar elements. As Hield (2010) has shown in her study of Sheffield's folk singing community, a network-like structure emerges. Sarah illustrates this:

> I think it's part of the area and it's part of who the people are in the area. It's a really odd area in that there seems to be more crafts people, artists, photographers, singers, musicians per capita than almost anywhere else that I've come across and virtually everybody that you talk to seems to have some kind of hidden talent in the art or singing world. But I think there are an awful lot of very fine folk musicians who are here and quite why that is I don't know. I mean, part of it is obviously people like Kathryn Tickell and so on are local. But there are loads and loads of really good local musicians and I think...I don't know whether it's partly to do with the community or partly to do with the geography or what it is but it just seems to attract...(I~Sarah)

Thus, we have already begun to witness how participants construct a sense of their community being somehow singular, different to other putative social groupings. There are a number of means by which this discrete sense fo community is maintained, some of which I will now consider in terms of community 'boundary making'.

4.2.2. *Boundary Making*

Richard Jenkins' dialectic of social identity suggests the building of communal and regional boundaries is an "ongoing, and in practice simultaneous, synthesis of (internal) self-definition, and the (external) definitions of oneself

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transformed" relationally to their 'lived experience' (Halfacree, 2006: 45). The world is not a static backdrop against which social processes occur; rather it is a co-constitutive in processual arrangements (Malpas, 2005).

offered by others" (1996: 20). That is, an emergent identification with a region from within and perception of its place in relation to other and larger entities (Wrightson, 2007). As Sarah commented, her elective belonging consists of an adopted 'Border Identity': "[…] everybody talks about the English and Scots but essentially it is the English versus the Scots further up and further down but the borders are just like well we're the borders and the rest of you can go hang yourselves we're quite all right jack" (I~Sarah). David continually reiterated his own sense of border identity, even musing that the borders end at a specific place, Halton Shields (RD~David). This sense of the relational nature of rural spaces is iterated by Smith, who visualizes them as "islands of absolute space in a sea of relative space" (1984: 87, in Halfacree, 2006). Any conceptualisation of homogeneity in a particular social group is likely to have limitations and, as is widely attested, the 'Folk' were no exception. Yet, in a sense, this generalisation actively assists in the exertion of power by the dominant party in the subjugation of its 'opponent' by *objectivist reduction*. Bourdieu suggests there is a tacit denial between groups on this lack of objectivity in their mutual conceptions which allows the (metaphorical) *game* to continue. Leaving hidden what is essential, the groups present and receive those partially objective, "partial truths", "as if they were a full account of the objective relations" between each other (1984: 13). By this means Bourdieu explains why the four capitals (economic, social, symbolic and cultural) can be arbitrarily reproduced inter-generationally, thereby perpetuating class foundation and societal inequalities (Butler & Watt, 2007). Thus, the dominant discourse in among my research participants is one that supposes musical practices to be largely an aspiration of the entire community: "… But I think there's a greater than average proportion of the population do like it here and maybe that's because we're rural and maybe that's because it's getting together…" Sarah offers (I~Sarah). If such imagining, and sense of shared identity, is nurtured around the shared symbols of membership, of inner cultural distinctiveness, it is equally a reaction to the 'otherness' of those 'without' (Cohen, 1985)[74]. Indeed, the 'Northumbrian tradition' was actively

[74] A 'community' may incorporate outside discourses into its own if they are

devised to isolate the region discursively, to differentiate it from other putative 'traditions' for the preservation and even composition of regional distinctiveness (Murphy, 2007; Colls, 2007; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983).

Bounding their community and place through assertion of similarity or difference with perceived 'others' is integral to this discussion (Cohen, 1985). This process of differentiation or boundary making, whilst not necessarily conscious, has many interesting and relevant tenets regarding social exclusivity and collective identity, all of which I address in the coming sections. Such ideas pertain to the kind of insular, homogeneous community described by structural functionalist monographs of the mid 20th century British academies (see chapter 2.1.1). To the participants, however, such discourses perform an important identifying function. As Galani-Moutafi (2013: 106) suggests:

> Portraying the village as a holistic entity, comprised of people whose behavior and consciousness it moulds – tying patterns of social relationships to geographical milieu pertains to a theme or a popular idea which is instrumental in serving political (ideological) ends; giving emphasis to sameness and solidarity, as part of a normative apparatus, serves to draw boundaries and suggests an otherness as something lacking in positive attributes.

Lay community narratives, those in which interpretive ethnography is interested, continue to extol the notions of boundedness, unity and continuity described by those earlier theses (Corsane *et al.*, 2008; Crow, 2008). For instance, perhaps as far as any can, my Tarset case-study, superficially at least, resembles the structuralist model of Tonnies' *Gemeinshcaft*; of face-to-face interactions, reciprocal relations, kinships ties and geographical boundedness; 'communitiy' seen as deep, horizontal modes of comradeship (Anderson, 1983: 7). These, as Okely (1983: 48) describes, are the "notions of a 'real' or artificially bounded 'community' [that] confront any researcher". Whilst Tarset clearly does not substantiate any traditionalist model of folk community, in aboriginal ethnic purity or geographical stability (Gold & Revill,

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concordant, the result being the continual interplay between the two (Cohen, 1985).

2006), it does nonetheless present some semblance of cohesion through music. These *doxic* knowledges, however, remain indebted to the appearance of objectivity in lay narratives, precisely because of their clandestine nature in discourse, the intergenerational acumen of 'the way things are' (Bourdieu, 1990; 1991; Jenkins, 2002). Against all the evidence for plurality and fluidity, the cultural authority of folk music still derives from an aesthetic of stability and self-containment (Frith 2000; Harker 1985; Stokes 2003). The Tarset community supports this assertion. Thus structural factors, such as geographical mobility and cultural globalisation may, paradoxically, strengthen rather than weaken community boundaries, or at least their symbolic expression (Cohen, 1982; 1985; Corsane *et al*., 2008; Crow, 2008; Russell, 1987).

Moreover, describing one's self as enmeshed within networks of kinship, family, friendship, proximity and neighborliness as those described by early British Community monographs (see chapter 2.1.1; Arensberg & Kimballs, 1940; Rees, 1950; Williams, 1956; Frankenberg, 1957) give rise to the notion of the rural community as rural idyll. That is, closely knit, isolated, performing time-honored customs. "We trust each other as well, you know", Anne tells me, "I mean, I shouldn't really say this, but I don't lock my back door. I mean, I will tonight when I go to Hexham. So if people need to come in and leave a message or need to borrow the hall key, they know where it is so they just come and get it" (I~Anne). It is basically the specific actor's contingent way of understanding the nature of her community. Anne's sense of community imagines 'locals' having moral obligations not just to each other but even to incomers, especially when outside power structures threaten it and shared interests outweigh internal divisions and conflicts" (Galani-Moutafi, 2013: 106; Gudeman, 2001). Indeed this is an important example of what Cohen (1985) describes as the 'boundary making process', the discursive isolation of a community from other putative social groupings. This, however, as I showed in chapter 2.1.2, also tends to disguise the heterogeneity of invested interests whose potentially divergent performances of rurality occur and even merge upon the same stages (Edensor, 2006; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2010). It is

important to recognize that the spaces and boundaries of community are delineated most simply upon lines of what Galani-Moutafi (2013: 106) describes as 'here's' and 'there's'. This is in effect an illustration of de Certeau's (1984) notion of 'practiced space'. In practiced spaces individuals, whose worldviews are inevitably historically and culturally situated, wish to represent themselves and others, be it in a geographical or social sense, as essentially differing from those occupying other spaces. Anne, for instance, describes the Falstone community, some five miles from Tarset (see map 1.2):

> That's a completely different area to this, and it's really hard to define what it is that's different. They have a fabulous village hall. It's love and they have a lovely playing field and an area for the kids, a play area, which is fabulous, but the community is quite different from this, and I don't know what the difference is, and it just is. I mean, sometimes, I mean, there were several ladies from Falstone at the do on Friday night, and in the past they have hired Lanehead Hall to have their Northumbrian evenings or whatever. They have actually bypassed their own village hall because they recognise that Falstone is different from this area. But what it is I really don't know. I don't know what it is … But there is a difference between the two communities. (I~Anne)

As we have seen with regards the rural community, rural and urban spaces and society have purportedly become increasingly indistinct (Mormont, 1990). Rural communities and spaces can no longer be regarded as unanimous, as in their traditionalist or structural functionalist conceptions, especially where economistic models have reversed their basis on agricultural production towards the multiplicities of consumption (Marsden, 2006). Thus, "rurality", Paul Cloke argues, "is characterized by a multiplicity of social spaces overlapping the same geographical area" (2006: 19). This perception of 'commonality', therefore, might best be described as pseudo-objective because without the guise of objective recognition the 'community' could not function. The premise of 'commonality' is contingent upon individuals perceiving of their forms of behaviour being shared. Cohen suggests the most effective structures and forms are those that may be analogised as symbols. Precisely because the symbol is ambiguous its adherents may believe they

interpret the same 'meaning' from it. Thus 'community' is as an indefinable number of individual constructions, each participant in 'community' is a meaning-making agent "subject to their own respective logics and armed with their own facilities of truth generation" (Bauman, 1992, quoted in Murdoch and Pratt, 1993: 415). 'Community' is therefore constituted by not only the articulation, as Silk suggests (1999), but a process of *interpretation* of the many discourses which enter the ken of the individual. Individuals who interpret the same symbols are likely to perceive commonality between them and hold the symbolic form as an identifying feature of their 'community'. Participants suggest an intertwining of multiple spaces and timeframes, making it difficult to speak of identifiable boundaries irrespective of context and an individual's perspective. Yet, "In defining the village, different individuals and social groups are in effect co-defining themselves" (Galani-Moutafi, 2013: 106). Communities, as we have seen, exist in tension with other putative, often cultural constructs, including ideas of musical geographies and regional identity (Cresswell, 2013; Murdoch, 2006). The following quotation, taken from the Tarset community website page on the Song Reiver (www.tarset.co.uk/community/songreivers.cfm), is a good means to illustrate these themes:

> Anyone from the North Tyne and Redesdale area is welcome to join. No auditions, you do not have to be able to read music – just come to enjoy the singing!

At face value, the call to new members reflects all those ideas I have already drawn upon. Likewise, it again attests to a folk 'ethos' of non-formal musical ability (Mackinnon, 1993; Hield, 2010) and participatory democracy (Richards, 1992). Yet this also, as Rapport (1993) has argued along similar lines to Cohen (1985), may disguise the actual heterogeneity of worldviews and social motivation. Thus we might transpose the idea of *disposition* – in the Bourdieuvian sense - to the cultured, preconfigured interpretation of symbols by groups in the distinction of their 'community' and 'place'. Symbols therefore encapsulate not only the perception of a boundary within the 'community' or 'place' construct - what Anthony Cohen calls *the symbolic constitution of boundaries* (1985) – they also actively distinguish between such constructs in

discursive relationships of power. This is particularly so at times of threat, when groups identify with their own symbols and exhibit (superficially at least) social regularity in their relationship to them. What interests me here is the geographical boundary – of the North Tyne and Redesdale - drawn, and from which new members are 'welcome'. Whilst in practice nobody from outside of those areas would be omitted from the choir (I myself being one of them) instances such as this, I argue, again constitute what Cohen has called the 'boundary making process' in the construction of community. People define their individual and perceived communal identities in relation to such 'places' (Jorgensen & Steadman, 2001). What I call a 'cartographic imagination', operates in tension with the *topological*, relational impetus present in post-structural theories of 'space' and 'place' (Murdoch, 2006; Cresswell, 2013; Massey, 1991; 2005; Doel, 2007; Woods, 2007). 'Relational geography', Murdoch argues, is both a 'consensual' and 'contested' process of becoming; "'consensual' because relations are normally made out of agreements or alignments between two or more entities; "contested because the construction of one set of alignments may involve both the exclusion of some entities (and their relations) as well as the forcible enrollment of others" (2006: 20). Relating Murdoch's ideas to my study, I choose to posit this consensual alignment as 'community' within a broader constellation of spaces – ranging from the local, between Tarset and Falstone and Bellingham; the North Tyne and to Redesdale; from the extra local, to Newcastle; and regional, Northumberland and the borders; and to the national, to England and Scotland. In this way, as we shall continue to see, participants can accept Tarset's position within wider context, the most obvious being the performance of non-local musical material, which still acts to perform a coherent identity (Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). A sense of communal identity is therefore, importantly, also articulated by reference to music. As 'locality' in music making is often connected to wider spatial and extra-spatial contexts, so local significance is achieved through these relationships rather than isolation from them (Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). 'Sense of place' in Tarset is therefore and in part an inculcation of wider regional characteristics. David's

repertoire, for instance, includes a vast array of Tyneside songs: "I've always enjoyed them", he offers, "I don't know them all but I know a fair few one way or another, over the years" (I~David). Similarly, Hannah, suggests

> […] when I was a child, they were all Scottish songs along this border that the farming community seemed to sing, and I still like Scottish songs. David will tell you that. I think that's one of my downfallings. But I would say I'm more the Scotch side. I've always liked the Scottish music and singing … (I~Hannah)

The persistence of locality in folk music discourse often refers to this *locational* aspect of 'place' and the sense of music's belonging to a 'place' and to the natives of it. The conceptual boundaries of the village expand and contract depending on context, the age, generation and origins of the person giving the information as well as his/her life experiences. This attitude has also permeated popular ideas if 'authenticity' in folk music[75]. Thus, whilst music groups such as those explored by Garnett (2005) and Pitts (2005) may have limited repertoire at their disposal, the folk canon is, in its entirety, vast. However, practitioners may choose to limit their own remits under the proprieties of locality and taste (more of which in section 4.3 of this chapter). For instance, David's sense of boundary is foremost sequestered by his sense of dialect:

> No I'm not, I'm not too averse to singing a song as long as I'm not trying to sing it in broad dialect. Because you can't, it's the same as somebody from Cornwall or the south trying to sing a Geordie song. You can't really do it justice unless you *naturally* speak the lingo. (I~David)

[75] For instance, the 2001 film *The Boys and Girls of County Clare* is a light hearted affair about a pair of feuding brothers competing with their respective ceilidh bands at the 1962 'All Ireland Ceilidh Band Competition'. As the scene changes from Liverpool (where a band member is remonstrated for playing 'jazz' instead of the 'traditional' tune) to Ireland, the screen caption reads "Meanwhile in Ireland tradition still rules". In the back bar of a public house where the Ceilidh band is rehearsing a young member is also remonstrated by the leader for suggesting they play tunes from outside of the county; "Leave the Derrymen to the Derry tunes…"

Anthony Cohen has repeatedly emphasized (1985, 1982) the way in which individual's become 'conscious' of their culture and 'communities' when they come into contact with others. He writes; "people become aware of their culture when they stand at its boundaries" (1983: 3). This dialectic boundary also accommodates David's sense of self and communal identity, like Sarah, in 'the borders':

> I'll sing songs from Aberdeen I'll even sing them in private, up there with them I wouldn't actually, if I was on a stage, want to sing them in Aberdeen. I would tend to go more to the borders, to Northumberland, and that's grand; some of them overlap anyways so it doesn't matter. English songs, that's alright because we're part of England anyway. Although that's debatable because once you get out into Rural Northumberland here, sort of across via Rothbury, that way, you're into what I would term 'the Borders' more than anywhere else. The borders stretch, there's this *wide band* on both sides and people on the North side will sing songs from this side and we'll sing songs from their side. Its just 'the borders' …' (I~David)

To others, the sense by which their musical community is bounded is through the local anchoring of the music. As a respondent in Corsane *et al.*'s (2009: 39) study into music and belonging in Northumberland suggests "it [music] gives people who get involved in it a way of expressing themselves that relates to their locality". Attaching the notion of belonging to a community to both the environment and heritage of musical traditions, a Northumbrian piper in their study recalled that, "as soon as I started, I became a member of the society...so, you're sort of becoming a member of the tradition and keeping the tradition going, I suppose ... so, being able to play these tunes on this local instrument is a sense of belonging" (ibid: 39). Similarly, a sense of communal affiliation is encultured through sense of ownership. As Sarah illustrates: "Yeah, there is and it's just...it's local, it's ours and it's a proprietary kind of thing I think … I think so because I just think it's local to the region, you can identify with it, it's yours, nobody else's just this area's' (I~Sarah). Culture is therefore an important constitutive element of community. As Cohen further suggests (1982:3):

> But all this is to say that culture is at the forefront of consciousness and social process. Of course I do not suggest that people are aware of it as culture; they are aware of it through their identities…But their capacity to be so aware both explains to them why they behave as they do (that is, why they behave differently from others) and may also incline them consciously to engage in certain kinds of behaviour

Cohen's words could cogently analogise not only the habitus – with its en-cultured quality – but also the capacity for an individual to gain awareness of that fact and so act upon it, to 'play the game' so to speak, and thus position themselves accordingly to best profit in the *field*. Bourdieu has, in this respect, inferred habitus itself to be "something like a property, a *capital*" (1993: 86 quoted in Maton, 2008). If certain underlying structures usually influence folk music events, such as to permit and create space for a particular socio-musical aesthetic and ethos (MacKinnon, 1993), then, Hield (2010) argues, one such structural component is the notion of an accepted repertoire within the group and the sense of symbolic boundary this can engender. In this, Connell and Gibson (2007:19) argue that 'authenticity' – as in the pursuit of local music – "is in part constructed by attempts to imbed music in place". In the following section, I wish to develop further the ideas outlined here – of elective belonging, community participation, and musical appropriation in boundary making. With the example of David McCracken, who I describe as an 'authentic voice', I examine how he seems to embody those rural aspirational cultures described in this and the preceding section. David McCracken, Tarset hill farmer, 'singing shepherd', and resident for over thirty years appears to articulate and perform a certain community discourse in Tarset by his standing and respect amongst others in the community, and one able to draw the community together in song.

4.2.3. *David McCracken: Authentic Voice*

In the previous section, I intimated that the rural is seen positively as an 'other within' in contemporary cosmopolitan society. What Bell (2006) describes as

something suitably both exotic and indigenous, the rural is an object of aspirational desire amongst in-migrants. Folk music, I also showed, plays a part in the aspirational ideologies of in-migrants in Tarset. Whilst Bell's (2006) argument concerns 'the rural' at large, I suggest that *representatives* of indigenous rurality are simultaneously representative of the 'exotic otherness' of the rural to metropolitan 'lifestylizations'. Thus, the aspect I address here relates to the ways particular individuals, and discourses on rural labour, can also inflect upon the meanings of musical practices in the community.

Early on in my fieldwork it became apparent that David McCracken would become central to my research and thesis. David is a lean man, late in his 60s, thatched with a head of straight dark hair. His face, worn by tobacco and the weather tells in itself a story of a hill-man's life. His hands are like shovels, holding them up he is likely to say; "you couldn't play the pipes with these, could you" (RD~David). His voice is rich, deep, mumbling and lyrical. He has, since he was a boy growing up in the Coquet valley, always wanted to be a 'hill man'. It is perhaps the unique thing about the shepherd musician, that, sullen and austere, as those of that profession often are, he is also a consummate entertainer, a storyteller, never missing an opportunity to sing to his peers. Maureen McCracken, herself slight and agile, warmhearted and funny, takes her husband's frequent outbursts into song in her stride, as though they are by now part of the furniture in the Burdonside kitchen: 'Piled on over', as the Northumbrian expression goes, with letters, postcards, the Hexham Gazette and the Farmer's Weekly. As his home of thirty years, Tarset has been the substance of David's songwriting, reflecting his interests in the histories of 'place', its geography and his experiences of farming there.

For David, leading a relatively solitary working life, the social occasions provided by ceilidhs, hunt suppers and so forth provide a welcome chance for socialization, and a chance to perform from his repertoire of Northumbrian and Tyneside songs. As a performer at these events David plays becomes a Tarset 'stage manager' (Edensor, 2006). David is a 'motivated individual'– a theme I continue in section 4.3.2 of this chapter - and one with the capital asset and social power to influence community events. In her work on

community construction in folk singing groups in the Sheffield area, Hield (2010) identifies what she calls 'resident' singers. In the groups, residents "depend upon various factors including frequency and longevity of attendance, depth of engagement and, for the more formally recognized 'resident' status, their perceived hierarchy within the wider body of singers" (ibid: 110). Moreover, Hield (2010: 111) goes on to suggest, residents in her conception are also "… viewed as representative of the club, indicating its musical style and standing". In Tarset, though there is no formal folk singing session as such, my observations suggest David McCracken to most closely occupy this role of 'resident singer' and 'stage manager'. David's regular performances very much orientate local musical practices towards the 'traditional':

> David is good in that he pushes the traditional side very hard which is great because it's really, I think forces people to appreciate. Because he does sing very much in the traditional style. But the stuff that he writes is very gentle and it's very evocative but it's very modern in some ways although he sings tradition (I~Sarah)

David's presence, like those of other motivated individuals, surely influences the structure of social events turning them more towards song and music as an expression of 'community' and 'place' (Richards, 1992). David illustrates Sam Richards' conclusion, also summarized by Revill (2005: 700), that "folk performers were not the artless carriers of tradition but rather creative musicians moulding repertoire, adapting cultural practices to specific social situations acting as agents, cajoling, facilitating, energizing groups and communities into activity". David, 'the singing shepherd'[76], attains a degree of veneration from his community as a lynchpin of 'old' and 'new', traditional and modern, in a 'hybrid rurality' (Murdoch and Marsden, 1994). He is invited to perform Robert Burns' 'Address to the haggis' at the village hall 'Burns Night

[76] In the Long Meadow, David is seen hosting 'An evening with a Northumbrian Singing Shepherd', at Wall Village Hall, near Hexham. The name of the event, as far as I could ascertain, was not David's choice – rather, it was one made by the village hall committee – although I believe David takes a degree of pride in such adages, along with his self-effacement at its somewhat twee tone.

Ceilidh'; indeed to sing at all Ceilidhs; likewise at VARC's 'walk on'[77] event and so on. All of which attest to the notion of David being a significant 'community voice' (Revill, 2005). The performance of rurality through performance of music is therefore important not only in terms of its content but the structures in which it is performed (Morton, 2005). The format of musical events remain in Tarset, as they have done historically, in village suppers and dances:

> I mean Billy Pigg was a very skilled piper and therefore people respect talent, or they respect, in some cases, like the case of Jimmy White, they respect entertainment value, which can be a comic element, but the ability to get up and entertain, in the same way that recitations have taken off at events in the rural area, like shepherds' suppers and village concerts (I~Johnny)

Upon David is conferred a degree of significance in those forms of historical continuance and authenticity that attract attention of others in the community. Yet, composing his own 'modern' songs within the 'tradition' we meet with some of the criticisms of classical conceptions of folk culture expressed by Revill (2005) and Richards (1992). As I described in chapter 1.1, the Sharpian concept of folk music negated the possibility of any individual creator in a song or tune's genealogy. This, I argued, owed as much to Revivalist ideologies for the betterment of society than to historical evidence (see Boyes, 1993). For Richards (1992), Revill (2005), and Russell (2003), however, their empirical fieldwork reveals that individuals are systematically vital to vernacular culture: "living proof that folk music does not simply compose and transmit itself" (Revill, 2005: 699). Richards (1992) notes his disappointment in returning to a Cumbrian primary school with the hope of recording a rich score of playground songs, only to find the repertoire vanished with a single girl who had led the songs, and left in the meantime. Similarly, Russell (2003) extols the significance of a young singer Haydn Thorpe to his West Yorkshire community of Holmfirth. Thorpe, Russell (2003: 278) argues, embodied "the dynamics of an active singing tradition and its significance for the community in which it flourishes - not singing *in* context but singing *as* context". In Tarset

[77] Visual Arts in Rural Communities (VARC) is an arts charity based at Highgreen, Tarset.

it is David who fulfills the outfit described by Russell (2003) as a performer bestowed by a singular significance. Or as Richards (1992: 160) puts it, he is one of those people who leads the tradition and probably extends it. Thus, in focusing upon people, as the central emphasis of the community model, so we must engage with the creativity and practices of individual agents in producing and circulating meaning (Liepins, 2000a). "Folk culture", Revill (2005: 699) argues, "needs the qualities and aptitudes of individuals in addition to mass participation". What is it that earns David this degree of standing in the Tarset community?

Firstly, it is David's occupation and his pedigree as a 'hill-man' that seem to earn him the same respect once given to 'the Shepherds' (see chapter 1; the 'authenticity' of rural occupations I shall also discuss in greater detail in chapter 5). It is as though, to his audiences, David represents a natural reembodiment of the tradition of the shepherds. Galani-Moutafi (2013) has shown how the representations of rurality provided by agents in a largely post-productivist economy may tend to conceptualize landscape in terms other than agriculture (Woods, 2011). At the same time, as Heatherington (2011) shows, new forms of symbolic production and the hyper-commodification of rural spaces and practices in representations of the rural mean that farmers achieve value as embodiments of collective natural and cultural histories. As our conception of the rural turns towards the impact of social representations upon everyday practices

> " […] rurality defined by the landscape of agri-business is likely to have much less relevance to or association with counterurbanization than rurality defined scenic amenity" (Halfacree, 2012: 391).

This is to suggest that a farmer's activity is increasingly valued for its socio-cultural significance, rather than actual productivity. By scenic amenity, Halfacree ties the farmer into those wider cultural representations of rurality that form aspirational images for in-migrants. Agribusiness, in its historically rooted form as 'natural', 'authentic' and 'rooted' (Bunce, 2003: Short, 2006), can be easily situated within typically middle-class representations and aspirations for the rural. Accordingly, scenic amenity is a key mantle of

participant discourses on the general landscape (see chapter 5.2). The pastoral emphasis of folk music - and the prominence of the shepherds in the Northumbrian musical tradition – appear to imbue traditional agrarian occupations with a degree of symbolic significance among the largely in-migrant community in Tarset. Communally, there is respect in which David may be seen to 'embody' the sense of the 'authenticity' afforded to the Shepherds, by other Tarset residents (and indeed by myself) precisely because of his occupation as a farmer. Jones (1995) has suggested that agriculture is a differentiating factor in popular conceptions of the rural in this respect. 'David's whole life is involved with the animals", Anne remarks;

> […] and I suppose with the art as well, and I can see when David goes, there's still going to be a record of David McCracken, isn't there, really, with the stuff that he's written and the stuff that he's recorded, whereas I'm happy to be on the edge of it, and come in when I feel like it, so I don't think I will ever be a great contributor. I'll be sort of one of the crowd who'll sort of come in and out, as long as I can (I~Anne)

The respect paid to David as leading community protagonist, reflects too a degree by which musical style is both an emblem of continuity, integrity and, indeed, identity (Russell, 2003). The discourse the participant presents also reflects DeNora's (1999: 44) assertion that:

> While music-stylistic and historical matters may be relevant to the configuration of music's meaning and significance in some cases (especially with regard to music's conventional signifying materials such as genre, instrumentation, style, gesture), equally important to the matter of music's social 'effects' is the question of how musical materials relate to extra-musical matters such as occasions and circumstances of use, personal associations, and so forth …

Likewise, as Willim (2005) argues, the nostalgic lure of former industries or, in the example presented, of a pre-industrial mode of production, is an important force in the creation of experiences as commodities. This we is also a fundamental aspect of the English folk tradition. Moreover, this esteem has relevance further afield. David performs on a DVD compilation produced by Bellingham Heritage Centre entitled 'The tradition lives on' (as does Sarah). In another instance, when I was at Whitby Folk Week in the Summer of 2013, during a performance of Northumbrian song and music a young man took to

the floor and sang a song David's 'Won't you come to the hills …'. In yet another Johnny himself recalled meeting David with Hannah at Whitby:

> And I was sitting playing the accordion and singing the odd song…not many people were taking much interest. And he [David] came in, and he sat right in front of us. So, I did some tunes for him, Bonnie North Tyne and that. And he started talking, and all these people heard his twang, and they stopped, and they sort of gathered around. And as he began talking more and more, and we were talking about songs and things, they were all…and asking him questions. It was like Jesus and the disciples! You know? It was amazing. And then he sang a bit, and then he said, oh I'm off for a wander around, see what Hannah's up to. And it was quite surprising (I~Johnny)

Achieving widest extra-local dissemination, David's voice is also used in the final bonus track 'Northumbrian Voices' (2013) on Kathryn Tickell's album of the same name. Tickell, fiddle and pipes player, is a now an internationally successful recording artist. Her works, though diverse, continually promulgate an important sense of Northumbrian identity. These ideas of regional identity are most apparent in 'Northumbrian Voices', which includes interwoven spoken word pieces taken from her own tape recordings of 'the shepherds', their compositions, and her own work. The track on which David speaks is a medley of spoken word recordings including shepherd musicians Willie Taylor, Will Atkinson, Thomas Scott, Matt Robson, as well as Kathleen Tickell. In the CD liner notes, Tickell writes; "unfortunately the yearly calendar of the shepherd/farmer does not allow for time off for touring, so we took the opportunity, for this CD, to add David's *authentic* voice to the words of Will Atkinson" (2012: emphasis added). Does this elevate David to an authentic 'Northumbrian Voice', being held akin to the great Will Atkinson? And what capital might be gained in making him so? I recall Kat, a Northumbrian folk singer and my Tarset 'gatekeeper', when taking me to meet David for the first time, describing him as a 'tradition bearer', which for her at least held a great significance. One speculative explanation is a kind of aligning of oneself, not only with David the individual but with all the trappings and associations he may represent given the nature of the Northumbrian Tradition. To have known the shepherds, or to have seen them perform, seems almost a right of

passage for a generation of musicians. Indeed many contemporary musicians still exert cultural capital in having known “the old boys”. Perhaps because of this there is a sense that, as the *embodiment* of a ‘traditional’ occupation, one bounded in the mythology of the Northumbrian repertoire, and one intimately immersed in the material environment, David fulfills the ideological requirements of an ‘authentic voice’. Certainly, with David I too felt deeply that I was engaged in the very mechanics of traditional music and its transition. This was such that, noting in my field-diary after my first meeting with David, I was rather amused at the parallel I felt between Cecil Sharp and myself: collecting songs in an ‘out of the way place’. Such an imagining was only made possible, of course, by my knowledge of the folk music construct. It is to the ‘cultural lenses’ of such potentially discriminating discourses that reflexivity must draw attention and make transparent. Thankfully, the image retreated as I came to know the family better. Nonetheless I include my diary entry as follows:

> Perhaps the most exciting moment, was when David began to sing. I had wondered if he might do but had been unsure of any kinds of etiquette, which may mean he might not. Was this an appropriate situation? Was I a worthy enough audience? Indeed, I realised I was holding this man in high esteem for a number of reasons; I was also not ashamed to do so. He did sing, not without awkwardness – half closing his eyes and stroking the dog, which had wandered questioningly over - but this seemed to decrease and he continued to sing intermittently to illustrate points in the discussion. The songs where mostly of David’s own composition. I, for my part, sang a verse or two of songs I know; to see if he recognised them; to clarify the meaning of a dialect word; mostly however, I was attempting to hold my own, to prove myself in some way; to build a trust relationship and a rapport. To a greater extent I believe I did.
>
> As he sang, I couldn’t help but reflect upon the strange reminiscence of this song collecting situation and those of the first revivalists about whom I have been writing.
>
> Indeed, at various moments my personal interest got the better of me and I felt the conversation had turned from one between a researcher and an informant, to one between two generations of singers. I told David as much and, I think, he appreciated my sentiment; pleased, probably that a young man is taking an interest in his songs. Perhaps it flattered him, perhaps I rose in his estimation. Whatever the case, it was very exciting to have

> recorded six or more songs from somebody whom Mary would call a 'tradition bearer' and to have his permission to learn them. (RD~David)

Thus, if I have shown David's significance in terms of his promotion to 'authentic voice', I wish now to attend to one particular instance where an at least superficial communal response to him and his song seems to illustrate a coherent, place-bound, community belonging. Martin Stokes (1994) comments that music is credited with powers of bringing people together and engendering moral cohesion of the community, evoking collective and private memory. As we shall see more of in chapter 5, Tarset actually has a relative paucity of traditional songs and tunes: "I think apart from one or two that David McCracken himself has written", Sarah tells me, "apart from that there's really nothing that I found that's really local" (I~Sarah). "That's really one of the reasons I started writing songs about here", David comments too (I~David). Thus it seems the discursive associations between folk music and traditional 'communities' and 'places' are such that, where genuine traditional material is scarce, actors may compose alternatives. It is one of David's songs, 'Walk with me…', that perhaps most strongly illustrates the potential for folk music, geographically, socially, and culturally located, to provide a sense of collective belonging and participation in community and place. Other members of the community may, to a greater or lesser extent accept these alternatives, such that they become a standard, if small, communal repertoire:

> I mean Kat's been teaching the school kids to sing it with David's permission and so on, it's so sweet. And the school kids love it because as soon as they sing the chorus everybody joins in. So I suppose it's self perpetuating isn't it? (I~Sarah).

At what Doise (1986) calls the social-positional and ideological levels of social interaction through music making, a third 'cultural function' is served, whereby "people advertise their membership in a group or adherence to a belief system" (Leck, 2012: 27; Christenson & Roberts, 1998). This apparent expression of communal solidarity is fundamental to Cohen's symbolic-interactionist concept of community construction. Songwriting, particularly in and about 'place', can only occur in a paradoxical logic, a process both of the

disambiguation *and* abstraction of landscape through representation and interpretation. Performance itself adds yet another dimension to the matrix in terms of interpretation. Grossberg suggest one of the tenets of authenticity in music is an ability to articulate both such private and common experiences, through a language that constructs or engenders a notion of community (1992, 1993). The communal *selection* of a song, to reapply A.L. Lloyd's treaties on oral transmission, "implies the working of the community's choice on the songs set before them … its acceptance and survival depends on how well it accords with the tastes, views and experience of the community" (1967: 18-19). This is because cultural tendencies exhibited as *dispositions* - preferences implicated in the enculturation of the habitus – can be manifest as social regularities. Thus, as Edensor (2006: 488) suggests, "the selection of particular forms of information, objects worthy of the tourist gaze and self-evident routes can restrict alternative enactions and viewpoints, reinforcing practical performative norms about how to behave, what to look at and where to go". To all of which, we might add; 'what to sing'. 'So that gives you the precious, in the old fashioned way of using the word, their music is precious, the occasion, the friendship, the relationship in the community is precious' (I~Johnny).

It is by David's song 'Walk with me', that I now show how the Tarset residents perform a 'collective rurality'. In The Long Meadow, David is seen commanding attention in the busy barn at Highgreen Manor, where he was asked to sing to close the 'Walk On' Event (see image 4.1). Introducing the song, David declares: "Hopefully most of you will know the chorus to this song. Those local who will (sic). It's a walking song, but it takes people from the source of the North Tyne to where it joins its sister river, the South Tyne":

Beyond the Kielder water –
Out in the forest green,
There in Dead Water –
The Tyne comes in to being.

So walk with me aye and talk with me,
Be a friend of mine –
And we'll walk together, hand in hand
By the banks of the bonny North Tyne.

The Tarret Burn and Tarset –
Aye, the Houxty too,
Why they all give up their water –
For to strengthen thee!

(Chorus)

Heselyside's beside you,
As to Chartlon you speed,
There to join your forces-
With the River Rede.

(Chorus)

The Hall you leave behind you –
Well the lang fat cad is there,
Ah but now in Bellingham Churchyard-
Forever he will stay.

(Chorus)

The houxty comes to join you -
Past Wark you pace,
Farther doon the valley-
Passing by Chipchase.

(Chorus)

Onward then to Chollerford,
Where the Romans spanned your flow-
Ah! But now you're getting broader-
And you're moving slow.

(Chorus)

At last a Warden you meet,
Your sister from the south,
And on you both go together-
To the Tynemouth.

(Chorus)
(TLM~David)

Image 4.1: David Sings 'Walk with Me'

With the power to 'name' and thus draw into being in the collective imagination, David is actually empowered in the construction of place to his community. As a Johnny comments:

> […] his repertoire based on songs that he's chosen for his own interest, or for the capability of those songs to entertain or represent the feelings of the group of people he's entertaining? Like, you wouldn't go and sing The Kielder Hunt at the George Formby Society … (I~Johnny)

It is particularly in the performance of 'Walk with me …', that its status as 'anthem of the North Tyne' (RD~David) becomes apparent, and that indeed, those who are 'local' do know the chorus[78]:

> Even the modern ones, the Riverdale ones and so on. David's ones, 'When walk with me hand in hand on the banks of the bonny North Tyne.' Everybody round here knows that song and sings it and I

[78] In the Long Meadow the audience at the event can clearly be heard signing along with David on the chorus; even harmonizing with him. David, recognizing the appeal of his song, sings it on various stages and at every opportunity.

> think they all know it and like it because it's written by somebody local that they know. Again you've got the sense of belonging and the sense of he's one of ours kind of thing. (I~Sarah)

As Garnett (2005) has shown with regards British Barbershop choirs, and Pitts (2005) Gilbert & Sullivan societies, the repeated performance of a particular piece within a group can acculturate a sense of membership and belonging. So too does David's song relate to a sense of communal identity through its regular practice and quotidian status as 'anthem'. This is evident by virtue of the majority of audience engaging with it. Moreover, the song describes the interconnectedness of people and landscape, so it is that David's song may for its audience naturalize the experience of landscape, providing a 'sense of rootedness' (Wylie, 2003).

Thus, "what was a mere marker on the horizon can be transformed, by imaginative narration, into a vivid presence" (Tuan, 1991: 689). In this way, Lund and Benediktsson argue, landscape comes close very close to our primary concern here, of 'place' in the literature (2010; Cresswell, 2003; 2004; Saar & Palang, 2009). It is in this instance we see most clearly what Revill describes as the intersection of cultures labeled 'traditional' and 'modern', manifesting in a kind of quotidian vernacular; "where tradition is perceived as static and place bound whilst modernity is believed to be mobile and globalizing" (2005: 702). This intersection we might read in light of Christenson and Roberts' (1998) third, cultural function of music making. Bloomfield (1993) has argued that an 'ideology of authenticity' – though he argues it remains illusory - can emerge from personal experience in song lyric, imbibed with emotion and narrative. Bloomfield's critique is directed towards commercial 'light entertainment' artists, however, we may see his sentiment in David's performances, perhaps amplified. That is, that presenting to others one's participation within a particular musical structure is to exhibit one's Bourdieuvian taste disposition, and, in Cohen's (1985) treaties on community construction, to share with them the perceived sense of shared attitude and experience. In the shade of the barn on a dusty midsummer evening, the gathered Tarset community certainly seemed to find accord with David's

performance. As Sarah said, 'you've got the sense of belonging and the sense of he's one of ours' (I~Sarah). The inference here is that the landscape described by David's song, the act of walking, and the rhetorical request to "walk with me, aye and talk with me/ be a friend of mine" appeal to a sense of collectivity amongst Tarset residents. It is as though David becomes the narrator of community and place, that he tells his tales "to a community that senses they – the tales and the narrators – are right" (Feintuch, 1995: 304). In another formulation, the song invites a 'lyrical conversation' between David and his audience. This 'imaginary identification', Connell and Gibson suggest, often marks exchange value and success of music (2007: 71). Yet, because David is well known to his community, his engagement with his audience is far from 'imaginary' in a social sense. Their lives and experiences are, to a certain extent, shared, such that any performance or 'lyrical conversation' may take on significance more than mere rhetoric.

David sang 'Walk with me' at every performance I witnessed him give. Particular groups may often have a particular song or tune most resonant to that group, which will be performed at some point during each meeting (Hield, 2010). Thus, the song has attained an almost ritualistic significance no only in its articulation of the North Tyne landscape, but in how the community of the North Tyne articulates their communality through its repeated performance. Ritual, that is,

> [which] draws upon the ordinary, intensifying and thus confirming it. Affirmation, as the term suggests, honours valued practices not by suspending them but by intensifying awareness of their sacred aspects. (Hermanowicz & Morgan,1999: 200-1)

The central differences between the ritualised singing of 'Walk with me', and other singing that takes place in Tarset, serves as a demonstration of what is perceived to be of value within the community. "Repetition of these core principles through a ritualised act" Hield (2010) argues, "can create cultural stability through affirming these principles". And perhaps even if only a minor indicator of 'local distinctiveness', 'Walk with me …' nonetheless represents "that elusive particularity, so often valued as 'background noise' … the

richness we take for granted" (Clifford & King, 1993: 7). Performance occurs in 'a temporary and fleeting space' but one that nonetheless uncovers "emotional and expressive ways of knowing and communicating that only take place in these temporary creative and improvised moments …" (Morton, 2005; 673; Leonard, 2006). 'Spatial histories', metaphors and place images, in short, *symbols*, are therefore integral to the performance and staging of rurality. The success, and ambiguity, of the mediated symbol is to overcome such differences with a semblance of coherence (Thompson, 1995; Cohen, 1985) if only in the liminal spaces of performance (Morton, 2005). In Doreen Massey's words: the song assumes the character of "an essential harmony of rhythms and resonances – a *coherence* of landscape" (2006: 41). In constructing a place in recognizable conjunction with their foreground 'here and now-ness', the Tarset residents confirm a background, or horizon, with which to relate it (Hirsch, 1995).

These vestiges form an unremarkable backdrop to residents' everyday lives, but emerge as important transmitters of meaning through the evocation of both social and personal memories (Wheeler, 2014). Performance becomes "intellectual shorthand" for signifying "an edifice of social constructions" (Shields, 1991: 46); conveying complex interpretations of social situations without people having to think deeply about them. David's songs have, in their traditional stylings, an immediacy with the present:

> I'm interested in David McCracken's music, because that's today, isn't it? That's today's music, because he's writing stuff now, isn't he? (I~Anne)

David's song, in that view, in essence reflects a metaphoric and metonymic relationship, the product and producer, a motivated individual, an 'authentic voice', standing symbolically for the community, which perceives and identifies itself as unique in part though such locally distinctive cultural products. Thus, a local song, greatly valued by a contemporary generations of singers, written and performed up by musician with charismatic qualities and close kinship ties, becomes so closely identified with performer, community and place, to the

extent that the three become inseparable (Russell, 2003; 278). Thus the singer personifies the song, while the song evokes the singer and his life, as well as the lives of those who sing it, and who live in the landscape it maps: “because you wear your heart on your sleeve you know, when you’re getting up, you’ve got to talk…” (I~Johnny). Thus, however sceptical writers have become of local specificity in folk music (Bohlman, 1988; 2002; 2004; Revill, 2005) it appears that in this example, a song and its singer have the effect of uniting a single, geographically located community in performance (Russell, 2003).

In this section I have illustrated some of the ways participants subscribe to a kind of doxic self-identification with their chosen community. In-migration, I showed, seems an important aspect of perceptions of community in Tarset. Folk music, and music making, appear to conform with the idealogical, aspirational pursuits of a particular cohort, whose participation in a place-bound, historical traditional culture affords them a sense of elective belonging. Such communities of musical interaction can lead to cultural preservation and activate the inter-generational relationships so central to enacting and performing ‘tradition’ with activities based on traditional music and storytelling acting as knowledge exchange networks of venues (McGrath & Brennan, 2011:343). In many ways, music is a means for creating community in a symbolic way as it draws on stocks of knowledge that locate individuals, local sites, social practices, and events of the past and present. In the second part of this section I began to intimate my feeling that particular individuals can come to signifiy and symbolize the particular aspirational cultures of the community. David McCracken, and his song, ‘Walk with me’, I have shown as a manifestation of these ideals and communal self-narratives. “The capacity to contribute and understand the import of such narrative construction” McGrath and Brennan (2011: 353) argue, “can be a source of community identification and attachment”. Several themes emerge from their work on Appalachia and tradition. The first notably accords with my own descriptions of David McCracken’s role in the Tarset community, that is, the central importance of personal and emotional expressions in a relationship between the self and the social biography of communities (2011:348). Secondly, McGrath and Brennan

highlight the ways communities are built through interaction and participation in traditional cultures, this much we have seen in David's song, 'Walk with me' (2011:349). Thirdly, the authors note the important role of inter-generational work in traditions and music in the continuing of viable artistic and cultural practices (2011:350). 'Walk with me', communaly selected and even described as anthemic, is taught to the children at Greenhaugh primary school, for instance. Finally, as I have shown in this chapter, developing stories or community narratives give power and agency to communities to define themselves and their future (2011: 352-353). This endogeneous power is a theme addressed further in the next section.

4.3. Musical Practices – Aspects of Participation in Community

Much recent literature highlights the rural as a post-productionist, and increasingly touristic space. This, Edensor (2001; 2006) suggests, frequently assumes the careful stage management of rural spaces in order to present the rural as 'indigenous', 'traditional', or 'folkloric', through the aesthetic monitoring of visual and sonic markers. 'Stage Managers' intend, as Frietag, (1994: 541) also argues, to "create and control a cultural as well as physical environment" for the purposes of marketing an often effete, bucolic and pastoral commodity. The ritualistic practices of community music making, as much as the music itself, can conform to these consumable exchange value. Alternatively, the effective reduction of visual, musical, and functional forms into a few key marketable images (Rojek, 1995), also constructs a kind of aspirational 'sceneography' (Gottdeiner, 1997: 73). What is interesting about Tarset, however, is that tourism is in fact not integral aspect of the local economy (Tarset online). Thus, in an informal way, yet one similar to touristic stage-management, the community satisfies only its own middle class taste cultures. Most important, as I showed in section 4.2, is the notion of the 'incomer', those who, perhaps with a degree of 'touristic gaze', have settled in Tarset with some preconception of rural life. I also showed how such idyllic,

aspirational ideas of the style of community participants imagine Tarset to be, are common. As Halfacree (2012: 393) suggests, and as we have seen with regards the desired inclusivity of Tarset's musical mores:

> Such re-working tends to be driven by the changing and enhanced consumption demands and corresponding expectations increasingly placed upon rural areas

Indeed, crucial to the discussion – and the originality of its emphasis – is the juxtaposition between an historical idiom and its contemporary practice; between a postmodern conception of 'community' as socially constructed, fluid and processual, and a case-study that resembles the social structures (of geographical boundedness and reciprocal relationships) often attributed to functionalist 'traditional' communities. The incomers' desire to achieve what Cloke (2006: 19) calls an 'anachronistic' purview of the rural - "an island of cultural specificity and traditionalism" – is also the reason for which folk music in Tarset thrives. Idyllic representations characterize Tarset as a community where musical participation is something 'expected', something 'natural', and most importantly, something widely shared. As Thompson suggests; "[m]usic geography is emerging to provide valuable perspectives that question the socially constructed boundaries around the production and consumption of music" (2006: 67; Kearney, 2007). So it was that, employing Cohen's (1985) ideas of community boundary, I also began to show how a sense of musical ownership, regional authenticity, and local anchoring were employed by participants to differentiate Tarset from even its closest neighboring communities. Disciplinary modes of surveillance - the critical gaze of the folk scene (Revill, 2005) – are a part of musical performance, particularly what is allowed into the canon. Indeed, the power to define the canon and genre is a central part of the social capital of practitioners of the tradition. Moreover, the assertion of a coherent sense of community, in boundary making and internal self-identification, helps to explain what Edensor (2006: 484) describes as the

> attempts to fix the identity of space, place, and rural subjectivities through performance by different groups testify to the desire for fixity and certitude in conditions of continual social and cultural flux

Concomitant with all of the preceding discussion, in which elements of rural idyllicism were emergent, it is worthwhile to investigate here elements of what Bell (2006) describes as the 'retrofitting' of an existing village community with those structures and practices more closely associated with what a rural community 'should look like'. Interactions between individuals and groups in Tarset and the wider area enable them to capture certain intangible aspects of village life that prove especially significant for realizing their own lifestyle choices:

> I think people who are attracted to live here or to stay living here want to be involved, whether it's the village hall or whether it's the pub, because the people who frequent the pub on a regular basis, they're strong characters as well. (I~Anne)

So it is that, moving from the articulations and defenses for Tarset community 'meanings', made above, I explore here some of the ways 'practices' help culture and maintain those meanings. Thus it is the 'practices' aspect of Liepins' (2000a) community model to which I turn now, as well as the practices folk 'musicking' (Small, 1998) in Tarset. Foremost, the idea of people must be kept central to any model of community. In this context, the social components of folk music making are a key characteristic of the genre (Hield, 2010). Kira Leck's (2012) work on musical communities, departing from previous ethnomusicological literatures, makes music's role in the formation and construction of community her object of study - not only music as the shared expression or symbol of a given social group. Shelemay (2011: 349-350) similarly suggests:

> Rethinking the notion of community opens opportunities first and foremost to explore musical transmission and performance not just as expressions or symbols of a given social grouping, but as an integral part of the process that can at different moments help generate, shape, and sustain new collectivities

Indeed, this is what I describe as folk's 'socializing function' – musical practices' capacity to engender a sense of community in processual arrangements. '"It's really sort of hard to explain", Anne told me;

> I had a responsible job and I loved it but once it was finished that was the end of it and it was time for me, and in a way as well, when

> - died, that was a hard time, and then I had to discover who I was because he was such a strong character, as you can probably guess, I was his wife, I was his partner, and I sometimes wondered who I actually was. Does that sound awful? But now I feel that I know who I am. I'm the person that goes to the choir on Monday and has a right good laugh and enjoys the singing, and the same with - and the band, I love it. I love it, because it's relatively, not easy, but it's something that I can cope with … (I~Anne)

Music clearly has an active role as a building material of self-identity (DeNora, 1999: 45). Community musical practices hold significant functions for Anne's wellbeing; her present, indeed her historical, sense of identity is bounded within the musical practices in which she participates. In this section I wish to consider the ways community 'meanings' are exchanged, challenged and reiterated in community 'practices'. Practices and performances are, in Thrift's words (2000: 416), the "push that keeps the world rolling over". 'Practices', Liepins also suggests, 'enable the circulation and challenging of meanings', such as those described in the previous passage, within a community membership (ibid: 30). In other words, the performance of 'community' - indicated by modes of human interaction - is also a mechanism for its construction (Bourdieu, 1979; Cohen, 1985). Practices, then, the agency of individuals to construct and exploit a particular social structure such that it suits their ideological aspirations and capital needs, are the focus of this section[79]. As McGrath & Brennan (2011) have shown in their study of community development through traditional cultures in Appalachia, endogenous cultures can be "beneficial to the emergence of 'community'" in terms of integrated support, socialization and wellbeing (ibid: 340). The

[79] By and large, the data gathered by my participant observation in Tarset's musical events, as well as my interviews with musicians, will be drawn upon here. It is the observable structures of such events by which I present some reflection upon the ways folk music is organized and performed in the community. Thus, ideas of agency are accounted for firstly, and firmly place people in understandings of the rural space, which were perhaps *desocialized* by the 'cultural turn' (Gregson, 2003; Murdoch & Day, 1993; Smith, 2000). By illustrating the positive effects participants attribute to their musical participation, I provide some explanations for folk music's function as a production and producer of community cohesion.

authors argue that whilst static, place-bound ideas of traditional culture are threatened by socio-economic and cultural challenges of globalization - oral, storytelling and musical traditions have strong social integration mechanisms that can act as resources for new community futures. This much we have already seen with regards the participation in David's song 'Walk with me'. Daskon and McGregor (2012) also note that increasing attention is being directed towards the role of culture in the development and well-being of rural communities. "The remarkable social fact" is, as Ward (1992: 120) also suggests, "that music-making is, more than anything else you can think of quickly, the cement of society".

Whether or not one agrees entirely with such a statement, it remains nonetheless that social music making can provide valuable qualities of comfort, familiarity and consolation (Leyshon, *et al.*, 1994; Russell, 1987). Through folk musicking in Tarset we may therefore begin to answer the question posed by Halfacree and Rivera (2011:92) "Why do migrants stay in the places they migrate to?" Their study into the reasons why migrants to rural communities 'stay' - extending from literatures that implicitly regard migration 'over' at the point of arrival - explores how migrants become 'entangled' with their new community and place. The authors conclude that initial reasons for moving to rural areas, often rooted in idyllic representations of a better rural life, "come to assume reduced importance relative to subsequent place experiences" (Halfacree & River, 2011: 93). As Smailes (2002) has also shown, strength of community attachment among rural in-migrants does not necessarily iterate length of residence. Attachment instead correlates more strongly with the number of social events participated in. The strong elective component of in-migrant locational decisions (Halfacree, 1994), and their subsequent involvement in community activities is crucial to the perpetuation of both those structures and spaces of music making, and in their continued population by the community (Cheshire *et al.*, 2013; Cloke *et al.*, 1998; Woods *et al.*, 2011).

In Tarset then, it seems that elective forms of musical participation, in the Song Reiver Choir, and at other musical events, also induce in participants an

elective form of belonging to their community. Notions of social inclusion and a sense of social cohesion within the community, engendered by community musical events, may be some explanation for why particular in-migrants, and those natives whose tastes they compliment, choose to stay:

> Yes, definitely. You see, I sometimes think it's time that I moved to a little bungalow in Hexham so I could get involved in all the things that are going on in Hexham but I'm not ready to do that, because I like being involved in the events that are up here.
>
> There have been a huge number of house moves and different people coming into the area, but there's still the involvement in the village hall, the parish council, the archive group, blah-blah-blah, all the different sort of groups that are in this area, and there are always strong characters who kind of, or sort of emerge, I wouldn't say through the ranks, who are either persuaded to be involved in various things or who actually come along and say that they want to be involved. (I~Anne)

As Corsane *et al.* (2009) show in their study of musician's sense of spirit of place in the musical tradition of the North East, a strong pride is promulgated from participating on both personal and communal levels. In the following section I demonstrate the ways participant musical practices illustrate particular performances of community. By practices, I refer to the ways people engage with and participate in the community musical events in Tarset. In section 4.3.1 I show how musical participation performs a 'socializing function' to musicians, with important outcomes for wellbeing and sense of belonging (Christenson & Roberts, 1998).

4.3.1. *Socializing Functions*

Culture has to be central in understanding social practices. In a recent article, Leck (2012) notes that playing traditional music in rural America provides a powerful socializing function for its participants (2012:35). She notes the relevance of musical performance to social connections, social acceptance, and the emergence of relationships built around socialized performance activities. Crucial to understanding these social bonds is the idea that

performers interpret their songs from within their own perceptual and belief systems rooted in the singularity of localities and regions. Leck's work draws upon Christenson and Roberts' (1998) three categories of quasi-social, socializing, cultural functions in musical participation, and concludes: "In the traditional folk community, playing music to manage moods and create art with others may also underlie a broader goal of making connections with other people" (2012: 34). One of the key tenets associated with the folk 'ethos' is the centrality of its social function (Becker, 2008; Stebbins, 1992). This inter-individual and socializing level of music making has been explored by various authors including Campbell, *et al*. (2007), Clift and Hancox (2001), Conway and Borst (2001), Cope (2005), Finnegan (1989), Gardner (2004), Hess (2010), and Leonard (2005). The important 'socializing function' of folk music therefore, and its capacity as a tool for articulating identity, are themes to which I return continually, considering the personal benefits of music making including 'mood management' (Adderley, et al., 2003); 'emotional release' (deNora, 2000; 2003) and 'personal growth and fulfillment' (Coffman & Adamek, 1999; see also Leck, 2012). Indeed, various authors have illustrated the impacts of music making upon wellbeing (Conway & Borst, 2001; Hess 2010; Kennedy, 2002; Parkes & Jones, 2011). Both Leck (2012), and Kay Shelemay's (2011) works, for instance, attempt to set out a theoretical perspective designed to categorise musicians' motivations for performing together in "recreational activities that offer no direct rewards of monetary compensation or status elevation" (Leck, 2012: 25). In this section I concentrate upon folk music's functional role within community events as a vehicle for social interaction, and through which notions of community are exchanged and valorized. Again, the metaphor of 'performance' will be continued, as "usefully" Edensor (2006: 484) suggests, "performance foregrounds identities (of spaces and individuals) as continually in process as actors rehearse and repeat conventions about what to do in specific settings". By introducing the Tarset Song Reiver Choir I illustrate participant expressions of wellbeing associated with musical participation in Tarset singing events.

Kat, my Tarset 'gatekeeper', introduced me to the Song Reiver choir in later 2012. She leads the meeting every Monday morning in Tarset village Hall (see image 4.2). The first time I joined the choir was on my second trip to Tarset. I followed her in the car to Lanehead in appalling weather; the rain that had caused flooding in the South West had moved up to the North East. We had time for a quick cup of tea at her parents' home before choir was due to begin back at the hall at Lanehead (see map 1.2). I said a few 'hellos' and some of the ladies introduced themselves to me. Maureen McCracken said hello, and Jan – who, whilst not a musician participant in the study, I shall discuss with reference to her role as a 'motivated individual' in the organization of community social events - introduced herself briefly. I was put with the basses – two women and two men (the only men, who seemed pleased to have me join them!) - I did reasonably well, being thrown straight in with harmonized bass parts to 'Hark! The Herald Angels Sing' and 'O Little Town of Bethlehem', it being the run up to a Christmas concert a Thorneyburn Church. The event was good-natured with lots of laughter. Social interaction and the particular structures of socialization in singing practices in Tarset are also a central and identifying characteristic of other folk music communities (Becker, 2008; Hield, 2010; Redhead & Street, 1998; Stebbins, 1992). As I also mentioned in the introduction to the thesis, with regards my introduction to the Newcastle 'folk scene', so the Song Reivers was not only a novel form of "musical socialization" which I had joined but a "different form of socializing, in which active musical performance and participation were integrated" (Mackinnon, 1993: 53).

Daskon and McGregor (2012:559) stress the importance of such 'cultural hubs' in terms of social and cultural development of rural societies and economies. Now in their sixth year the Tarset Song Reivers are self-supporting, membership subscription funds the three annual terms (during school term-time)[80]. The choir is therefore a useful example of community mobilisation into action (McGrath & Brennan, 2011). Pooling efforts and

[80] The choir was originally funded by a Sage Gateshead outreach programme.

resources, the fact that the choir is now self-perpetuating is testament to the value attributed by the choir members to its values, and particularly its socializing function (Crossley, 2015a). This key 'socializing function' (Christenson & Roberts, 1998) suggests therefore, the existence of underlying motivations for playing folk music and certainly for the choir continuing on its own subscription base membership:

> …but when her [Kat's] funding stopped we thought, 'we've got to do something', because Monday mornings were suddenly such fun (I~Anne)
>
> But it makes such a difference, it's like any form of teacher or leader I suppose you have to...but also it's a nice group of people, so it's just we all...it's just fun and there's no pressure and it's...nobody's up themselves and it doesn't matter whether you can sing well or you can't sing well, it doesn't matter. It's just an inclusive thing and that's what...I think that's what I enjoy about it (I~Sarah)

The Tarset community, or at least those who enjoyed the choir felt empowered and motivated to continue it by their own means even after official funding had ended, such were the benefits it obviously brought (Daskon & McGregor, 2012; McGrath & Bennan, 2011). "Oh it's just fun, it's a nice way to start the week, it's nice to catch up with everybody" Anne suggests enthusiastically. Sarah adds:

> Yeah, it's completely different to The Choral Society for example. The Choral Society I enjoy but in a different way and it's more a cerebral thing but the thing on Monday mornings is just fun. It's a nice way to start the week and it's a nice way to catch up with everyone. (I~Sarah)

For Anne, the regularity of the choir meeting, and the social interaction it affords her, has extra special significance for her own wellbeing:

> All of that sort of sharing of experiences. I think it's vital for me. I mean, what would I do on a Monday? What would I do on a Monday morning if there wasn't the choir? Because yes, I've got a lovely house, but I live on my own. There's just me and the dog, you know, so I have to find things that I am interested in to try and keep me alive and keep my mind working. I do read, I do read a lot, but that's solitary, isn't it? I have to belong to a group of people, and I think Kathryn's group or Nathan's group are just wonderful. (I~Anne)

It seems, as Leck (2012: 31) found amongst her cohort of folk musicians, the choir tends to reflect a sense of "setting moods, filling silences and/or

enhancing communication". Integral to this is the informal 'atmosphere' of support to performers (Richards, 1992). Various authors have highlighted the notion of music making to individuals as an opportunity to 'have fun' (Adderley, et al., 2003; Conway & Borst, 2001; Hess, 2010; Kennedy, 2002; Parkes & Jones, 2011). In a similar way most respondents, certainly those who are also members of the choir, cite social interaction as a reason for their participation. Corroborating this, participants emphasize the importance of singing together in an informal, 'fun' setting, where individual talent is not necessary:

> You know, you got up on a Monday morning and you thought, wow, it's the choir, go and have a chat to everybody, socially, nice people, get to know them a bit better and sing as well, and none of us actually pretended we could sing. That really was secondary, in actual fact, I think. (I~Anne)
>
> I can't say that I've got an academic interest. It's fun, it's belonging to a group of people who are, luckily, really nice people. It's another reason to live here, to be part of this area, knowing the McCrackens and Jane and Mary. (I~Anne)
>
> Mm. And I think what I've found refreshing here is that there doesn't seem to be any, how do I put it, musical snobbery in that. It doesn't matter whether you're good, whether you're bad, whether you're a beginner and whether you're an expert, the fact that you're prepared to get up and have a go and sing along is fantastic (S~Sarah)

Such enthusiasm and commitment, Small (1998) argues, are essential to what he calls 'musicking', the playing, listening, and organizing that make up a music world (Crossley, 2014). These too are important ideological facets of the folk movement in particular; inclusivity, amateurism and informality being held as the key mantles of its democratic ethos (Hield, 2010; Richards, 1992). Regarding the encouragement of amateurs within the group, Leck (2012: 26) finds "the primary purpose of folk art is to bring together members of the community as opposed to competing to determine who is the most skilled at practicing the art". In my observations, it seems that, as my participant suggests "none of us actually pretended we could sing", this avoidance of talent evaluation is a necessary element of the function of the group. Thus it seems that Christenson & Robert's (1998) *quasi-socializing* level of musical

participation - that promoting personal ‘emotional expression’ (Adderley, et al. 2003; Campbell, et al. 2007), mood and relaxation (Beck, et al., 2000; Clift & Hancox, 2001) or self-esteem and confidence (Adderley, et al., 2003) – seems closely dependent upon the primary socializing function served by the Song Reivers choir, or by ceilidh dances. These personal and communal benefits are the incentive and stimulus for continued music making, indeed its conventionalization into a regular and repetitive structure (see section 4.3.2 a; Crossley, 2014; MacIntyre, 1985). Such responses indicate the participatory nature of folk singing, creating a sense of renewed connection with other members of the community and facilitating a sense of inclusion in social situations (Leck, 2012; Alarik, 2003; Gardner, 2004). As Fine (2004: 171) argues:

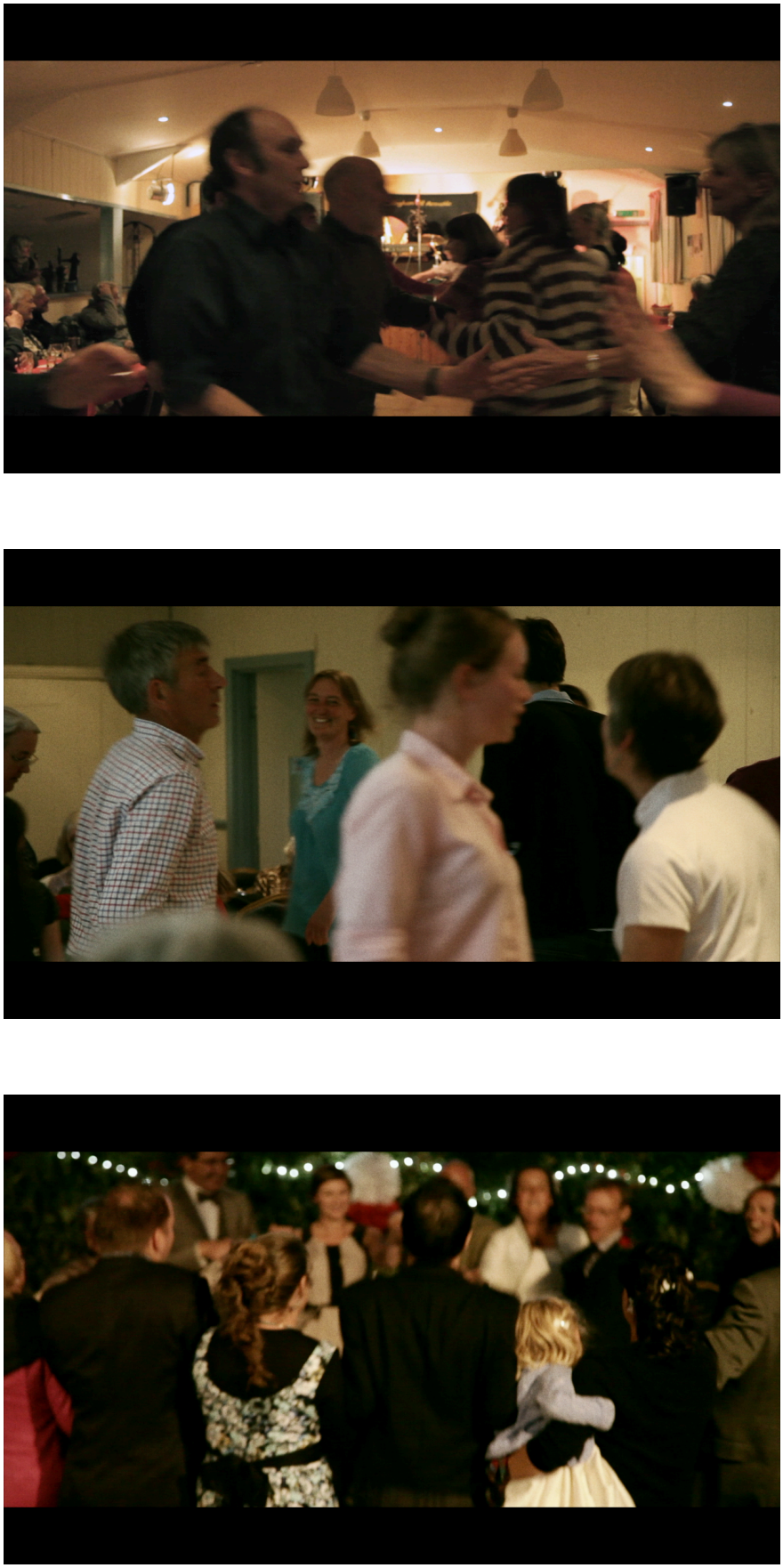

Image 4.2: Tarset ‘Ceilidh’ Dancing

> Community is one of the central images by which we understand how the world hangs together. Whether real or imagined, community matters. A sense of belonging is the glue that transforms individuals into a group, both psychologically and as a social reality.

Yet, there is another sense in which musical participation in Tarset functions, due in part to the geographical isolation and seasonal inaccessibility of the place. Indeed, neglected in community music studies is the potentially greater functional role and significance musical practices may perform in rural communities. The cohesion found in music making also finds expression in more functional ideas of community: “And somewhere like here if...it is...although we’re only three miles away or what have you, it feels quite remote and if it snows you have to help people, everybody has to be there for each other otherwise somewhere like this won’t work” (I~Sarah). Thus, the sense of collectivity, of a moral community of mutual dependence, where wintertime snow, for instance, can cause significant problems for residents, so strong social relationships are seen as necessary:

> So I think it does do that even though we’re all incomers and we’re all very diverse the community’s such that you do pull together. (I~Sarah)

This geographical isolation also denotes greater significance to community events such as the choir, where travelling further afield is problematic. Anne, for instance, notes how her attendance at Folkworks classes, at the SAGE Gateshead, which also performed for her an important socializing function, was finally ended by the sheer amount of driving necessary:

> And I went to David Oliver’s classes quite a lot, and he was very charismatic and it was worth going to learn tunes and to be taught by him, but it was the driving. I know it’s a boring reason to say that’s why I stopped, but I just couldn’t cope with the driving. It was too much, and I stopped, but I went to FolkWorks for a lot of years. I didn’t take the music very seriously, to tell you the truth. It was more of a social, I met some great people there, and went for six or seven years to FolkWorks and loved it and met some good accordion teachers (I~Anne)

Indeed, another aspect of Anne stopping attending those classes, testifying the importance of social interaction in musical practices, is that her friends also ended their membership:

> But I was there just to have a fun jolly day. Yes, I learned quite a lot of nice tunes, but it was just to have fun and to have a laugh and socialise, and that was great, but people change. Different people come and go and once a few of your friends say I'm not going next year and you think, well, so I must admit I stopped going. (I~Anne)

Thus it is the socializing function of music – the interactions that occur in and around the social structures that produce it – these are of sociological interest here (Christenson & Roberts, 1998; Mackinnon, 1993). Lipeins' (2000a) model regards even localized communities as 'imagined' constructs rendered credible to their putative members by a sense of commonality in attitude, belief and behavior and so forth (Cohen, 1985; Anderson, 1983). 'Practices' therefore enable the circulation and challenging of meanings within those constructs (see chapter 2.1). "Attention is drawn" therefore, "to the meanings, practices, and spaces through which 'community' is articulated and negotiated" (Liepins, 2000a; 24). Forms of 'practice' enable the circulation and challenging of meanings, i.e. the structural mechanisms of exchange, (see chapter 2.1). The shared 'meaning' within a 'community of individuals' is contingent upon the mechanisms of its exchange, its structures of interaction, and those being inculcated in its construction. In section 4.4 of the chapter, I therefore examine some of the forms of musical participation available in Tarset, including singing and playing, and the accessibility of musical participation. Likewise, I introduced the Tarset Village Hall as a space in which practices are performed and through which community meanings are embodied (Liepins, 2000a). Before that, however, I wish to show now how the structural organization and character of Tarset musical events is in fact underpinned by the influence of a handful of powerful mediators. These I have chosen to call 'motivated individuals'.

4.3.2. *Motivated Individuals*

In the previous passage I introduced the Tarset Song Reiver Choir, illustrating its functional role as a mechanism for social interaction amongst its membership, as well as the various benefits it appears to provide in terms of wellbeing and weekly routine. Such conventions in the structure of musical events are integral to the attachment and pleasure that participants experience in relation to their localized music worlds (Crossley, 2014; 2015a; Feld, 1981; 1982). Thus, I have already begun to illustrate how practices, spaces and meanings are complexly interwoven in the formulation of community amongst participants (Harper, 1989; Leipins, 2000a; 2000b; Panelli, 2006; Silk, 1999), likewise and how music forms a catalytic role in this process (Hield, 2010). Music is a device or resource to which people turn in order to regulate themselves as aesthetic agents, as feeling, thinking and acting beings in their day-to-day lives. Achieving this regulation requires a high degree of reflexivity; the perceived 'need' for regulation described by respondents emerges with reference to the exigencies and situational 'demands' made upon them in and through their interactions with others through the course of their musical practices.

As I became further involved in community musical events, and as my interviews progressed, it became clear that those events and practices rarely occurred without some degree of formal organization. What we shall see therefore, is that the structures of commoditization of the rural may in fact be practiced by the community, and at the behest of its ‘motivated individuals’ – the choreographers and stage managers – by and for the benefit of the community itself. That is, the commoditization of ritualistic and historical activities, such as folk music making, which conform to and serve the purpose of bolstering a coherent sense of community identity and boundary. This then, operates across various imagined and physical spatial stages. Niall MacKinnon (1993), whose work was the first to critically engage with the make-up of the British folk ‘scene’, suggests that whilst informality and

spontaneity are characteristic of folk music making, underlying structures usually order these events. A fundamental element of the social and structural relations in Tarset's musical events arising from the data, is the role of what I have called 'motivated individuals'. Bell in 1978 called for community based studies to consider the siginificance of the 'locally powerful'. Others, such as Payne (1996), Gill and Maclean (2002), and Scheper-Hughes (2001) have also taken up this theme. Indeed, as Edensor's (2006: 484) useful metaphor of rural 'performance' suggests, "[it] is through the relationship between an array of characters playing out particular roles, and the spaces in which they perform, that ruralities are routinely produced". In Tarset these relatively few, self-appointed individuals also hold a relatively high degree of control in the format and character of such events. As such they are also intimately embroiled in the specific terrains of power and the socio-cultural discourses that shape constructions of community. As Liepins (2000a; 24) argues, approaches to community must not only account for "the meanings, practices, spaces and structures of `communities'" but also, "the contexts and people who shape them". As MacKinnon likewise suggests with regards the British folks scene

> A very conscious destaging and destruction of glamour occurs to maintain the face-to-face intercommunicative nature of [folk] musical performance. This occurs in very informal settings, but settings which are elaborately set up and structured to contain the events. Folk events are not in the form of 'anything goes‟ or 'free-for-alls', and contain within them elaborate means of maintaining their own core socio-musical aesthetic and ethos. (1993:81, in Hield, 2010)

As Eyre (2001: 5) has suggested, whilst musical sessions appear to occur spontaneously and democratically, they are often "orchestrated unobtrusively by one or two strong characters". The first of these indiviudals I have identified in David McCracken, however others also occupy less conspicuous, 'managerial' roles (Edensor, 2006). In a similar way that 'music worlds' are constructed by networks of musicians, such as those who populate the Song Reiver Choir for mutual benefit, so, Crossley (2015a) argues, participants draw upon the network in order to organise and promote events, for example, and

these events facilitate the revivification, growth and continual transformation of the community towards particular directions (Hield, 2010; Leck, 2012; McGrath & Brennan, 2011; Shelemay, 2011). I wish now to explore some of these organizational roles, participant perceptions of stage managers, and in the ways their influence actually extends laterally into other aspects of the Tarset community. It is the power of motivated individuals to 'play' the Bourdieuian 'game', and restructure and influence the nature of such events. Whilst the first of these people, David McCracken, I have given individual significance in section 4.2.2 of this chapter, there are others who perform equally powerful though less conspicuous roles. To give an example, Sarah highlights the role of a particular individual:

> But then you've got people like Fee[81] for example that deliberately work just ridiculously hard to try. And we get bands here that people in cities wouldn't get to see and they're world class. To have people come over to Tarset from Canada it's just absolutely ridiculous. We get so much talent but I think part of that is that there are a few highly motivated people who work to make it so. (I~Sarah)

By the term 'motivated individual' then, I mean those people who work, usually behind the scenes, though who are predominant in the community, to produce the publicity material for concerts, book acts, manage the village hall and so on. Hield (2010) has already identified the place of such people in her analysis of the 'available roles' to those participating in folk singing sessions. 'Organizers', Hield suggests, "undertake the management of events and ensure they run as planned" (2010: 109), whilst other hierarchical structures implicitly exist amongst 'regulars', 'residents', and 'members' of folk clubs, whose "roles are secured through frequency of attendance and commitment to the club" (ibid: 109). Finally, Hield identifies the differing roles of 'singers' and 'audience members' as being of particular significance to folk music, where considerable cross-over and interaction occurs. Thus it is in this section that I begin to show how agential aspects of folk music making in Tarset are influenced by the structures governing practices. The catalytic presence and

[81] This individual was not in fact a Tarset resident and not therefore a participant in the study. I have changed her name to preserve anonymity.

behaviors of motivated individuals shoulder an important feature of power relations and the shaping of the social and cultural life of the community.

Ian Russell (2003) highlights the importance of significant individuals in his study of Pennine Hunt singing traditions. Although in this instance, Haydn Thorpe is given a unique significance to his community, Russell nonetheless highlights the critical role such individuals may have in constructing certain ideological and representational notions of community and tradition. In my own study certain individuals were similarly identified as fulfilling such roles. Comments such as the following indicate as much:

> Well, Jan's a strong character and she's involved in quite a lot of things, and she is the traditional headteacher although she wasn't a headteacher, and she can get people to do things that they don't really want to do. She's very, very good at organising things. She is very good at networking. She knows everybody. She knows loads and loads of people. She's very good at fundraising. She's very good at applications for funding. She works hard. She works extremely hard for the area and gets people involved, and she's quite relentless. But you need somebody like that, and I'm sure she doesn't think that she's responsible for the community but a large part of it is down to her. (I~Anne)

Thus, whilst Brocken (2003) notes the 'hidden authority' of those who shape events, like Hield shows (2010) my participant responses attest to a more open appreciation of the necessary work and commitment of those individuals to 'making things happen'. This demonstrates the vital role played by specific individuals within the organization who are active in planning events and energizing the group (Revill, 2005). Anne corroborates this[82]:

> See, Jan's a very strong character, David's a very strong character, Maureen is in her quiet way and there are… I think people who are attracted to live here or to stay living here want to be involved, whether it's the village hall or whether it's the pub, because the people who frequent the pub on a regular basis, they're strong characters as well. (I~Anne)

[82] Anne also intimates the relative structural and spatial divide between community constructions associated with the village hall, and those associated with the Holly Bush Inn, more of which in section 4.4 of this chapter.

‘Musicking’, the doing of music in a music world, Crossley (2015a: 4) argues, “involves the mobilisation, use and exchange of a variety of resources: e.g. time, energy, money, equipment and skill”. This much we have seen in the self-perpetuating subscription by which the song Reiver Choir is maintained. As the testaments to the influence of Jan described in the extracts above, however, “the distribution of resources across participants in a music world creates relations of inequality, interdependence and (thereby) power between them” (Crossley, 2015a: 4). The following diary extract recounts my first meeting this particular motivated individual:

> After practice I followed Ja to her house on the crossroads. We talked about a good deal of things; her career [etcetera…] Although an ‘incomer’ she has been in Tarset for twenty years and was born in Northumberland.
>
> We chatted for a good couple of hours. She is obviously heavily involved in virtually all Tarset’s events and is probably pivotal to their happening. In fact, I got the impression she is a woman who is incapable of having a subsidiary role in anything going on about her! She was certainly very interested in my work – particularly, understandably given her background, the idea of making a film. When I telephoned her last week I had said something like ‘my name is Jonathon Lloyd, such-and-such gave me your telephone number…” to which she immediately responded; “oh yes, I know who you are”, which was both strangely encouraging to me, in terms of my ethnography, and yet unnerving in another.
>
> She certainly seemed to take the bit between her teeth in terms of helping me practically; mostly in the ways in which I could approach the community. Her main suggestion was to write a little piece for the Tarset Newsletter (deadline this weekend). I did have a certain gut-reservation about the idea but on the whole it does seem sensible. As I predicted, however, she has heavily edited the first draught I sent her! Some are sensible – in terms of creating a tactful tone – others, like removing mention that I am doing a PhD seem a little too far. For the time being I will accept that she seems a very useful ‘insider’ figure but will treat her with gentle caution unless she becomes too controlling. (RD~Jan)

In another instance this powerful individual did become a little ‘too controlling’. Jan persuaded me, against my better judgement, to attempt to lead the Song Reiver Choir when the leader was late in arriving. The following diary extra recounts the episode:

> Kat was a few minutes late this morning, and as people milled and chatted, setting out the usual circle of chairs, finding their places, I sensed Jan becoming increasingly fidgety – presumably because things weren't happening quite as they usually should. After a few moments she began to try to persuade me to get the session going myself, to lead them with the song Seacoal, which the choir was learning from me. I was very reluctant, not wanting to step on Kat's toes, already aware that I was probably held by the group as a natural talent I felt I definitely didn't deserve, and because I simply didn't want to. After more persuasion however, I reluctantly started the song off. It fell apart within moments; I wasn't equipped to lead fifteen or so people in a song like that. Thankfully Kat arrived, somewhat bemused, and I returned to my seat feeling rather embarrassed and that I really should have stuck to my guns.
>
> As most people seem to agree, Jan can be a dominating and forceful character; Maureen, with her constant small rebellion against authority had been quite annoyed by Jan's insisting on her making a cake for the 'Taste Tarset 2' competition and purposefully avoided the event. Predictably Maureen had sympathy with me later on. I was still suffering with a cold. It is part perhaps, of the image people have constructed about me, that I am an accomplished musician etc, when in fact they have relatively little evidence to base that upon. (RD~Jan)

Thus, it was all too evident that the meeting is in fact, 'tightly choreographed' and 'closely directed'. Not to mention the significance I myself may have represented to the choir in terms of my perceived musical 'talents'. My enforced improvisation in this ritualized performance not only illustrated my subsidiary position as an incomer, likewise my elevated positions as a 'musician', but also a competing route to governance through Jan and Kat. Kat's bemusement at my appearing to fill her role belies her own singular community significance as much as Jan's. Kat's status, unlike the others I shall continue on to address, is the most structurally and administratively positioned by virtue of her employment by the community. A participant reflects:

> Yeah, as much as anything, yeah. Part of it is Kat's enthusiasm drives everybody forward and that's vitally important in any choir is to get a leader who motivates and inspires people, because I've been in choirs before where we've had a conductor that I just think do you know what [sighs] can I really be bothered to get out of bed for this? (I~Sarah)

> It was just there, but what Kat has done, she's lifted it a whole notch socially. I mean, she's done tremendous work. She was employed by the Sage Gateshead to start with, and when that funding finished, we were devastated thinking, oh, what are we going to do on a Monday? (I~Anne)

Here both participants appreciate the enthusiasm, the knowledge and the motivation of the professional choirmaster. The impact of this motivated individual, both also suggest, is the continuation, indeed continual improvement of the choir meetings, fascilitating the socializing function we have already seen the choir provides.

> So she's done a tremendous amount for this area, and now that Nathan's involved and those of us that can play a bit, suddenly we have a reason to get the box out of the case, a reason to actually practise, because you've got to practise so that you're not showing yourself up on the next Sunday so it's part of the discipline as well, and sharing the chat about what did you think of last Sunday or what do you think of Friday, wasn't that good? (I~Anne)

> Well, music in the last few years has certainly brought a group of us in this area together very strongly and that's Kat's who's done that. I mean she is a really, really strong character. She's also knowledgeable, she's skilful as you know from working with her and meeting her and from my point of view, she's done a great deal for this area and for music, and I don't think that's got very much to do with the past and the traditions really (I~Anne)

Thus, in brief terms I have intimated the behind-the-scenes importance of a range of individuals playing out roles in the Tarset community. Sometimes covert, other times directly managerial, self appointed and community appointed, these motivated people are pivotal in shaping the direction and colour of Tarset community events. Their longevity in the roles they occupy, as I have shown through interview extracts in this section, and by way of their authenticity in the previous, is presumably that the folk-culture they elevate in their projects is subscribed to, rather than at odds, with the idealogical and cultural dispositions of the community at large. Far from being revenants and resurrections of coded and useless traditions of the past, they are actually as Rimmer (2010) notes 'real world cultural practices' – musical genre categories enmeshed in hierarchies of cultural legitimacy. Rimmer describes, after Bourdieu, a 'musical habitus', or the physical localities and social locations

from which music emerges. If ‘practices’, which have been the primary analytical focus in this section, can, as Liepins’ (2000a) suggests, ‘enable the circulation and challenging of meanings’, then this I have shown with regards to the various socializing functions of musical participation in Tarset. Thus, ‘meanings’, as Liepins’ also suggests, are seen to ‘legitimate practices’. This much we have seen most presciently with respect to David McCracken’s position as a motivated individual, and an ‘authentic voice’ for his community. ‘Practices’, however, must also necessarily take place in spaces and through structures. Moreover, they may also shape those spaces and structures, and the meanings embodied by them. Thus, in the following section I turn to that aspect of Liepins’ model that concerns the spaces and structures through which community performed. I shall develop the arguments outlined above and show how practices occur on particular ‘stages’, and invite particular performances of community and rurality (Edensor, 2006).

4.4. Musical Structures and Spaces - Staging Community

In the previous section I introduced some of the individual perceptions of community music making in Tarset. Participant responses on the whole expressed a sense in which the ‘socializing functions’ (Christenson & Roberts, 1998; Leck, 2012) of making music together engender cohesion among community members. The sense of well being provided by music-making in an informal atmosphere typical of the folk ethos, was also continually iterated through the interviews, the benefits of which included ‘mood management’ (Adderley, et al., 2003); ‘emotional release’ (deNora, 2000; 2003); and ‘personal growth and fulfillment’ (Coffman & Adamek, 1999; see also Leck, 2012). An initial analysis of the Song Reiver Choir, as a form of musical participation in Tarset, lead, in the second part of section 4.3.2, to an emphasis upon the roles of what I have termed ‘motivated individuals’ to the make-up of social, musical events. I suggested that the more or less informal nature of participatory musical events are in fact underpinned by a greater

degree of ‘stage management’ than is first apparent (Hield, 2010; MacKinnon, 1993). Like the ‘authentic voice’ of David McCracken, I also argued that these motivated individuals, in their multiple roles, are endowed, through capital asset, with degrees of power through with which to shape and characterise the Tarset musical community.

This focus upon the practical, communicative and social aspects of community must not, however, abrogate from the more structural and physical settings and organizational aspects of community music making in Tarset. Constructionist accounts describe the rural as a ‘significant imaginative space’ but this idealistic vision of the rural, as transmuted through its own representation and lived experience, cannot be understood without recourse to its material aspects (Short, 2006). In accordance with the hybrid rural epistemology the ontologies of the material and structural world must also be accounted for. The communication and construction of ‘community’ occurs within a complexity of territorially bounded and non-territorial spaces (Henderson & Spracklen, 2015). The discourses that form ‘community’ constructions are, therefore, likely to be entwined in a complex arrangement of influences emanating from multiple scales of social, cultural, media, political assertion. Some of these I shall address in more detail in chapter 5. Moreover, the practice of community occurs in spaces through structures of interaction whilst simultaneously constructing those spaces and structures (Liepins, 2000a; 2000b). This element in Liepins’ model recognises that cultural and economic dimensions of life occur in spaces and through structures: “These spaces and structures are mediums through which a material and metaphorical embodiment of `community’ can be read and traced for the meanings, activities and social relations displayed” (2000a; 32). Some writers on popular music have considered these as musical scenes based on genre of music (Wallach & Levine, 2011), location (Cohen, 2012; Hracs, Grant, Haggett, & Morton, 2011) or both (Guibert & Sklower, 2011). Sometimes location is defined as localized, global or virtual. Similarly important, and integral to Liepins’ model, is the interplay of material and cultural forms of community, seen as practices and spaces respectively, and

how this inflects upon ‘meaning’ to members. Thus if community is performed across various physical spaces and through structural mechanisms, it is to these I wish now to turn; exploring the ways particular, local settings are invigorated by senses of authenticity and historical continuity in Tarset. As I have already noted, I see it as helpful to coalesce these spaces, the village hall, the public house, the community spaces where people gather in their practice of `community’, with Tim Edensor’s (2006: 32) notion of performance of ‘rurality’ through everyday practices. Exchanges may therefore occur anywhere between unmediated face-to-face contact and the mediated discourses of political, media, governmental agenda. Performances, therefore, are “the ways in which the materialities and meanings of rural spaces are reproduced, consolidated and contested, along with identities of those who dwell and move within them” (Edensor, 2006: 484). In this section I wish to explore how musical events are structured in Tarset; discussing the ways these ‘ritualistic’ structures support certain community performances. Analysis of these mechanisms of exchange must not be neglected as they may a) provide a means to ‘map’ the transactions of ‘discursive meaning’ through social interaction and b) when conceived as symbolic vehicles for ‘commonality of meaning’, prove useful analytical devices. Thus, in this section I observe more closely the three main forms of musical participation I witnessed in Tarset; singing, dancing, and playing folk music. In section 4.4.2 I analyse the two public spaces and settings – or stages - for community music making discussed in this chapter, the first of which, Tarset village Hall, I have already mentioned, and the second, the Holly Bush Inn, I wish to consider in greater detail.

4.4.1. *Structures of Musical Events*

Nick Crossley has modified Becker’s (1982) work on ‘art Worlds’ into a formulation of ‘Music Worlds’ (see also Crossley 2015b, 2015c; see also Bottero & Crossley, 2011; Crossley & Bottero, 2015; Crossley *et al.,* 2014;

Hield & Crossley, 2014). “Participants in a music world”, Crossley (2015a: 4) suggests, “necessarily interact with and depend upon one another, forming ties of varying types, durations and intensities.” If these socializing functions are an integral aspect of music in the Tarset community social life, then the forms by which participation occurs are also evident of the structural ways in which musical socializing takes place. The commitments participants demonstrate ‘material and embodied forms if culture’ that are important for development and knowledge practitioners, and are also key to the traditional identities of the community, its creative economy and the dissociatation of place-bound tradition with underdevelopment (McGrath & Brennan, 2011). Systems of knowledge, beliefs, customs, norms and a wide range of culturally related activities, such as arts, crafts and music, can play a significant role in the everyday lives of people and contribute to the sustainability of human societies (Daskon & MacGregor, 2012). This is often in seemingly informal ways, but, as we have seen, such informality, which is regarded by participants as important to their participation, also disguises more behind-the-scenes organization; usually by those whom I have identified as ‘motivated individuals’. Equally, the apparent informality of music making also masks certain ritualistic and pre-rehearsed structures and calendar events. The collective practice of ‘doing music’, Crossley (2015a: 4) therefore argues, “is eased to the extent that particular interaction patterns stabilise as conventions”. In the this section I look in greater depth at the structures, or conventions, of music making in Tarset, and more specifically the forms of musical participation available to community members.

Within the English folk revivals, distinct formats of musical participation and consumption have arisen. The performance spaces of the ceilidh, sing-around, session, festival and folk club are a mainstay of the scene’s make-up (Morton, 2005; Stock, 2004). These arenas frequently conform to community and network theories (see Hield, 2010; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009; Revill, 2005). Likewise, vernacular culture may be instrumental in constructions of place and community (McGrath & Brennan, 2011; Stephano & Corsane, 2008; Shelemay, 2011), often in heavily contested sites of competing meanings and

value (Pickering & Green, 1987; Revill, 2005); echoing rural studies debates on politics of scale and spatial relations of social constructs (Murdoch, 1997; 1998; Massey, 1991). In community studies, however, the discourses of revival are often at odds with their contemporary practice. As Hield (2010) argues, contemporary musical communities do not tend to conform to the revivalist interpretation of traditional ones. Bucolic calendar customs and semi-pagan rituals, the idyllic rural community of an idealised 'past', that which Georgina Boyes (2010) describes as the 'Imagined Village': these are a largely a matter of 'invented traditions', of fiction rather than historical accuracy (Anderson, 1983; Boyes, 1993; Francmanis, 2000; Harker, 1985; Revill, 2005; 2012). Situating the discussion within recent debates which highlight the significance of practice in everyday life (Latham, 2003; 2004; McCormack, 2003; 2004; Smith, 2000; 2001) in this section I wish to draw out some of the ways musical participation in Tarset encourage the exchange and communication of community meanings and rurality through their spaces and structures, especially the times and spaces that everyday musical practices bring about (Morton, 2005; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). These I have identified as singing, playing, and dancing. Although, at certain events singing would be the only medium of performance, and likewise at others solely instrumental music making, often the two would be a part of the same musical event.

As Leonard (2005) has shown, the performance of Irish traditional music in two English cities by second and third generation members of the Irish diaspora was an important public articulation of their 'Irishness'. This "informal and speculative behavior of music in performance", Frances Morton also argues in her ethnographic study of space and social practice in an Irish traditional music session, "could bring about *spaces and times that could never be repeated or retrieved*" (2005: 662, author's own emphasis; see also Dowling, 1996; and Tansey, 1996). Yet, the style of practices can be formalized and reproduced. As the familiarity with David's song 'Walk with me', a common piece at musical events, engenders senses of 'belonging', so the common structure of those events tends to acculturate a sense of continuity and

breadth of experience. Hield (2010) has likened these repetitive structures to 'ritualized' practice. It seems prescient then, to turn to the first of Tarset's forms of musical participation, folk singing. Also, the time-management, staging, and structure of events are important (Hield, 2010).

Virtually all of the musical events I witnessed in Tarset occurred in the village Hall, Lanehead (see map 1.2). This also gives an opportunity, firstly to describe the Tarset village hall as a material space, and stage upon which certain community practices are performed, literally, in terms of musical production, and figuratively, in Edensor's (2006) conception of rural performances. This extract from my field diary reveals the sense with which that small municipal building already had for me before arriving in September 2012:

> As we passed through those places – Wark, Bellingham and eventually Lanehead and Greenhaugh - I took particular note of the scenes outside of the car. Kat had said, on taking a single track road out of Bellingham (I think) that this was 'the beginning of the road to the middle-of-nowhere'. The names of those three small villages have arisen time and again, such that they held an almost mystical, legendary place in my imagination. After the long, narrow road over great expanses of heather moorland and sheep pasture – all the umber, ochre, sepia and russet of autumn – we descended into Lanehead, where I recognised the little village hall, with its red tin roof, brown wooden walls and white window frames. I remembered its distinctiveness from the cover image of Kathryn Tickell's 'Northumbrian Voices' CD. The image of that modest little building had somehow, already taken root in my imagination; seeming to be more than the sum of its rudimentary parts. Bryony has spoken of it and immediately recognised it when I showed her Kathryn's CD. Agustin Fernandez, too, had asked with interest, if I knew where the photographs were taken. (RD)

Such cultural hubs, Daskon and Macgregor (2012) argue, are central to local community economic and cultural development, because such spaces facilitate social interaction. In her ethnographic study of community constructions amongst folk singers in the Sheffield area, Hield (2010) gives some analysis of the material locations in which practices are set. The (usually) public houses in which singing sessions take place, and the ways these settings influence the practices, also materialize different meanings to

the session members (Hield, 2010). In this section, drawing primarily upon my own participant observation of communal events involving folk music performance, I wish to illustrate some of what Halfacree (2006: 50) describes as 'spatial practices', which constitute performances of community:

> These are the actions – flows, transfers, interactions – that 'secrete' a particular society's space, facilitating both material expression of permanences and societal reproduction … They are associated with everyday *perceptions* of space. They structure our everyday reality, whilst at the same time being rooted within that reality. As such, spatial practices can also be traced to rules and norms, and to space as lived.

Image 4.3: Tarset Song Reiver Choir

Conventions in the structure of musical events are also integral to the attachment and pleasure which participants experience in relation to those worlds. As we have seen, participatory singing is an important aspect of the Tarset singing make-up. And the choir is the most readily accessible outlet. Certainly this dynamic is shared the in Song Reiver sessions, in the village hall, on Monday mornings. "Participating in a particular group on a regular

basis", Hield (2010: 98) suggests, "provides participants with a broader experience than they would gain from just attending a single occasion". The social benefits I have already marked upon in section 4.3 of this chapter. However along with the development of social relationships through repeated contact, event structures can also be affected by repetition. "This results", Hield goes on to suggest (2010: 99), "in a series of behaviours that could be described as rituals". The Structures of both the choir meetings, and more public evening events accord with Hield's thesis on the ritualization of musical events. In the processes of learning songs, repeting them from week to week, so the ritualized sense of the choir meeting began to shape a much longer temporal space than its two hour time slot. Indeed, the repetitive structure of the morning, the seating plan, and the repertoire, tended to tie a sense of longevity and routine to the terms. Repetition of these core principles through a ritualised act can create cultural stability through affirming these principles. For the choir, music making happens in a circle (see 4.3), which diminishes tensions and promotes a sense of democracy.

Like evening events within the same venue, choir practice is ritually organized. As we have seen, the choir in particular facilitates social interaction and this seems its modus operandi and most crucial function in the community. As such, the time management of the practices must include adequate periods for social interaction. These are managed by the choir leader, who decides when is appropriate for a mid-session coffee break. Moreover, the hierarchical nature of the meeting is extant in her role as motivated individual, as I showed in section 4.3 of this chapter. Thus in both evening and choir events, actively designated times for social interaction can affect its internal sociability and influence the ways relationships are built or maintained. The value of ritualized practices in musical activities has been noted with regards to a Barbershop singing community (Garnett, 2005) and Gilbert & Sullivan societies (Pitts, 2005). Hield (2010) has applied this logic to the folk singing session. She argues that replicable structures of the sing-around represent a kind of ritualized process, widespread throughout the country. This commonality in structure and temporal management means that new events can be easily

choreographed within the established format and quickly imply continuity with the past. “In this sense”, Hield suggests, “the transferred models of ritual behaviour between various folk events create a sustained practice that could be seen as the *folk club tradition*” (2010: 101, author’s emphasis).

Much of the repertoire of the choir is composed of the Northumbrian canon. Somewhat paradoxically, Shelemay (2011) argues, ‘musical communities’ may also be observed practicing not only ‘descent’ but ‘dissent’ from putative ‘tradition’[83]. It is necessary to note, therefore, that while the repertoire of the choir, continually growing, is made up primarily of material readily accepted as traditional, or folk, much of this is either from beyond the Northumbrian region, and even non-British. Thus, whilst I found myself singing songs such as ‘Canny at neet’, a Northumbrian standard, likewise ‘Here’s the Tender Coming’, we also singing English songs (Yellow Handkerchief) and even South American rhythmic songs. Added to Shelemay’s schema we might also begin to show how contemporary community practices may reinforce rather than subvert ‘legitimate’ folk practices, and elide the narrow strictures of definition (Revill, 2005; 699; Brocken 2003). Thus, whilst George Revill argues for a renewed approach to folk music as a “multi-regional, multi-national, urban-rural hybrid” (2005: 698), the Northumbrian tradition has, as we have seen, always been as such[84]. As Johnny similarly suggests:

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[83] To Shelemay’s ‘descent’ and ‘dissent’ I shall refer repeatedly. I use the former in reference to the essentially successional nature of folk music, or the idea of tradition as ‘stasis’. By that I mean the oral transition of vernacular culture in generational, relatively unchanged descent. By the latter, ‘dissent’, I refer to the ways ‘tradition’ seems always to defies itself; picking and choosing songs and tunes from elsewhere; adopting new compositions, new styles and so forth.

[84] As Judith Murphy (2007: 257) concludes: “… when dealing with a region’s music, cultural identity cannot be dismissed as invention, pure and simple. Even though there are perceived differences between the music of more socially stable rural areas, and the industrial melting pot of the Tyne and Wear conurbations, there is sufficient blurring at the edges of these styles to argue for a coherent Northumbrian musical identity.”

> Perhaps because of the folk revival, it's narrowed the horizons down in the urban areas, to become more specialist, whereas in the rural areas, they weren't really concerned whether you were singing Old Shep in the pub, The Big Rock Candy Mountains, or, The Kielder Hunt. So, the entertainment wasn't so classified. And it's the scholars and the enthusiasts that have classified it. (I~Johnny)

Thus, like Richards (1992) and Revill (2005), who both found in their empirical research into folk events, the choir is a general challenge to the middle class ideal of genuine 'folk culture'. Richards, for instance, notes his experience song collecting among Devonshire gypsies, where 'traditional' songs – as corroborated by broadside collections, and so forth – were interspersed with country and western standards. For Richards, selective approaches to 'folk culture', which would ignore the latter, dishonestly represents a culture as it is 'lived'.

To give an anecdotal example of potential 'dissent from tradition' in the current study: A colleague asked me once, when I told him I had 'given' the Hartlepool song 'Seacoal' (Graeme Miles, 1935 - 2013) to the Song Reivers Choir, 'wasn't I contaminating the tradition'? (RD). Our discussion was challenging recieved notions of tradition and my answer was negative. He then mused, what would my research participants think if they were played Northumbrian tunes with 'Sigur Ros style guitar lines'. (Sigur Ros are an Icelandic 'post-rock' band with, unsurprisingly, a distinctly un-Northumbrian sound.) Again, from my observations, I had to admit that 'rather disappointingly', they would likely be very receptive to it. Indeed, my research suggests, as does Straw (1991: 373), that musical 'scenes' are "cultural space[s] in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization" (see also Long, 2013). To an extent this is true of my experience in Tarset, although I hesitate to construe 'scene' as an alternative to 'community' (Shelemay, 2011). Rather, 'the folk scene' rubric – quite apart from its ubiquity in the discourses of the folk-revival – also suggests a notional 'community', be it local (as in Tarset), regional, national, international or even virtual, and which sustains an ideological and symbolic boundedness (Bennett

& Peterson, 2004; Cohen, 1999; Johansson & Bell, 2009). This heterogeneity and eclecticism in performer repertoires, Richards (1992) argues, must be accounted for in examining the communal significance of music. Similarly, Revill (2005) in his ethnography of an evening of European folk performance in his economically deprived hometown of Jacksdale, Nottinghamshire, contrasts the performance of the professional act alongside that of the local American-style carnival band. For Revill (2005) conventional notions of folk music would be of little use in understanding the event. Like Richards (1992) notion of heterogeneity therefore, Revill perceives the carnival band as an effort by the Jacksdale community "to revive from folk memory some certainties of stable industrial community and form a source of community strength in the face of economic adversity" (2005: 697). It becomes a 'legitimate' form of folk practice, "reinforcing rather than subverting the power of popular collective memory" (ibid: 697).

Here the power of place in the generation of folk culture is not based on the certainty and purity of tradition but rather in the articulation of resources drawing on a wide variety of geographies and histories. Thus, it seems a definition of 'vernacular culture', as Revill (2005) concludes, is more appropriate in application to the Song Reiver Choir. The choir's function is to modify elements of folk and other cultural borrowings, using material from wider and non-regional sources (Murphy, 2007). As I mentioned in the thesis introduction the folk tradition 'Northumbria' is and has always been therefore the result of the "fusing together of different musical idioms" (Burnett & Macraild, 2007: 193). This vernacular choir functions, primarily, in order to produce a particular musical mode of socialization, which also accords with descriptions of the 'folk scene' described by others (Hield, 2010; MacKinnon, 1993). Similar instances of folk culture are evident in the evening events I attended in Tarset. In the performance arena solo singing also plays an important role.

The event I illustrate now certainly included this more performance orientated structure. When I arrived at the village hall for the Burns Night supper in Februrary 2013, I was surprised and pleased to find the hall packed full of

people. In my time in the village, this was the first time I had ever been to an evening event I the hall. The atmosphere was completely different to that of choir practice, I found an environment buzzing with expectation and conversation. I recognized faces in the audience immediately, they were all local people. Though the event had been advertised regionally there were only two non-residents out of an audience of thirty or so people; myself and the resident artist at a local rural arts charity.

It is worthy of note then, to highlight the distinction apparent at the village hall musical events. At all of the events I attended, a ‘first-half’ of the evening consisted of community members performing solo to a seated audience of fellow community members. Without exception these performances, including my own, where given standing at floor level in front of the small stage (which is a permanent fixture in the hall). This format enables a mixture of novices and professionals to perform within the same event. Floor singers act as a warm up for the main guest artist and supplement the entertainment provided for audiences. The impact of having performances from commuity members provides more than a mere support act does within a concert setting, however. Again MacKinnon observes: “for many clubs the floor spots are more than 'warm-up' spots and it is the informal performance by known people which makes the atmosphere of the club night and which makes it a 'club' as such” (ibid: 88). The second half of an event’s program, following an interlude for refreshment and socializing, without exception consisted of a professional or semi-professional ceilidh band performance. These bands did perform upon the stage where microphone and PA equipment was set up. Before their start, the hall would be cleared, with tables and chairs move to the perimeters in order to make space for dancing (see image 4.2). Unlike a folk club, however, there was a common acknowledgment that those who were to perform would be members of either the choir, or musicians already publicly acknowledged. Thus, spontaneity is removed through a previous commitment of those to perform in a ‘running-order’. The general audience is not invited to perform, though individual performers encourage them to ‘join-in’, diminishing the sense of divide. The predictability of this format involves everyone in the room as it is

inclusive in the way that it gives everyone the opportunity to perform (although not everyone accepts the invitation). As the order of singers moves in a predictable manner, people know when it is coming round to their turn and can psychologically prepare.

Niall MacKinnon (1993:87-8) argues that having guest performers and floor singers sharing the same stage (albeit at different times) can act as a 'destaging' device, leveling out hierarchies between the performers. Likewise, Hield (2010: 89) suggests "folk singing environments tend to have specific arrangement systems, which, although not necessarily explicitly marked, nevertheless dictate the use of the space". In Tarset events, however, the distinction between stage and 'floor' seems to maintain that hierarchy, almost as a social function. The presence of a stage is unwelcoming to many amateur performers. As Sarah suggests, Tarset village hall is the place where she first sang solo, and 'it's terrifying' (I~Sarah). Perhaps this multiple staging and making of distinction between local amateur and outsider professional musicians assists both in encouraging reluctant performers, but also as a form of differentiation. The practical use of space bounds the kinds of music being made and perpetuates their reception and performance. The setting up of rows of seats facing the stage promotes a very different atmosphere in performer-audience reception. "The very form of the auditorium", Small (1998: 27) suggests, "tells us that the performance is aimed not at a community of interacting people but to a collection of individuals, strangers even, who happen to have come together to hear musical works". In Tarset, however, this dynamic is more symbiotic than Small suggests. The individual performs to their community within the spatial setting. However, community is perhaps exaggerated from the performers perspective, set up in front of them, whilst the individual is accentuated to the community in the performer before them. None of the musical performances by community members involved the use of a microphone or PA device. This purely acoustic aural quality is common to many folk music making ideologies and events. In terms of singing in particular, which, rather than being a group activity, like an instrumental session, provides a direct correspondence between singer and audience, this

non-amplified performance can support greater feelings of inclusivity. The sonic balance inhibits any hierarchy between performer and audience, and engenders a greater sense of communal experience (Hield, 2010; MacKinnon, 1993). It is worthwhile to note that, during evening performances in the village hall, the repertoires were solely from the folk canon, unlike the choir. At the Burns Night event David was the first to perform, singing 'Nancy Whiskey' (TLM~). Giving a performance fitting to the occasion, it is a humourous song from describing a young man's ruin in pursuing a woman. After David, Sarah, evidently nervous, stood to sing the Scottish song, 'John Anderson'. Perhaps this emphasis on accepted folk material reflects a relationship of repeating expression and control upon community aesthetic. In other words, that the accepted norms of folk singing mean that performers practice within those perameters and so continue their normalization.

At this natural interval, after the first solo singing performances, people began to chat again and to use the bar. Shortly afterwards, without announcement, David processed from the back of the room to the front once again. On a platter, which he placed on a table facing the audience, was the haggis. David then performed Robbie Burns' 'Address to the Haggis' with all the gusto and sincerity of a Scot, even a drolling Scots accent. At its conclusion, to which David received much applause, it was announced that food was ready for everyone: Miniature haggis pastries. Village hall 'officials' made extra special effort to make sure everybody was fed and included. As Revill (2005: 696) mentions of a similar situation: "For those of us more used to experiencing folk music at festivals and concerts this was a considerable departure from normal practice". Then prizes of a raffle were drawn and announcements for other upcoming village hall events were made by Jan. All of this seemed a taken-for-granted process of events. Repetition in the form of ritualised behaviour expounds the groups central ethos and creates a heightened sense of belonging. Recognition of the group's established mores therefore gives participants a sense of belonging within the group and ownership over its practices.

Dancing, in Tarset, goes hand-in-hand with singing at community events. The second half of the evening was given over to ceilidh dancing. If there was a further announcement I did not notice it, because people then began to move the tressle tables and chairs to the edge of the room, making a large space up the length of the hall. It was obviously intended for dancing, and a semi-professional band – a three-piece of fiddle, accordion, and drum-kit - made their way onto the stage at the front. Unlike the community performers then, this hired band did use various microphones and electronic equipment to amplify their instruments and the voice of the 'caller' – the band member who calls instructions to the dancers, in this instance the fiddle player (TLM). The floor space quickly filled up. The same mix of children, grandparents and 'respectable' folk I knew from my ethnographic work all joining in (see image 4.2). As an element of all evening social events I participated in in Tarset, dancing, like the choir practice, also holds similar significance to the community as a form of social interaction:

> I think it's a bit of both but I think it's mainly about the present. I think there is a sort of sense of tradition of having a ceilidh but I think people genuinely enjoy it. There's the country dancing class and so on, because people have gone there and I know other communities where you have country dances and nobody knows what they're doing, but obviously there'd been a couple of ceilidh here and people have thought I don't know how to do that, wow I want to do that and that's not about let's not lose it, that's a question of that actually looks fun let's give it a go. (I~Sarah)

For Paul, the feel of playing dance music is crucial to his sense of participation in Northumbrian music:

> I don't know, it just - I've got a friend who really didn't understand why anybody would want to listen to folk music or traditional music until he was at a ceilidh for the very first time and then he danced and he realised, this is great, I can surely dance to it but I don't really want to listen to it - which is fair enough, I'm not particularly into just listening to it myself, I'd rather be playing it and doing it. I guess traditional music, for me, is rough and ready and it's got that underlying dance beat. Folk music is something - they're one and the same but I guess for me… (I~Paul)

The dancing continued for the remainder of the evening, finishing promptly at around 10pm. Thereafter the group dispersed to their cars. This event was

typical in form and structures of those I witnessed at Tarset, roughly following a plan of community performances – sometimes only David, others with more, including the choir – followed by a more professional, amplified ceilidh band. Music in the forms of singing and dancing are therefore key to the vernacular culture in Tarset, music however, at least in the revivalist forum of the 'session' is less common. In the next section wish to explore more thoroughly the idea of 'stages', this time with particular reference to the Holly Bush Inn, Greenhaugh, where I attended such a session. Through this setting I shall examine ideas of exclusivity in Tarset musical practices, and the influence of material settings as the embodiment of such meanings (Liepins, 2000a).

4.4.2. *Authentic Stages: Performing Music, Performing Community*

Art always happens somewhere, Becker (2004) observes. And music is shaped and structured by the spaces in which it is created (Byrne, 2012; Crossley, 2015a; Hield, 2010; Small, 1998) *where it happens often impacts upon the way in which it happens.* In this sense, we may coalesce sociological ideas on musical production with the ideas of community outlined by Liepins (2000a). As spaces and structures enable the materialization of meanings, and affect how practices of community occur, so places may attain significance and authenticity in their musical heritage, and consequently influence the contemporary performance (Crossley, 2015a). Such focal places and spaces are inseperable from the musical products they stage and the networks they encourage: Practices, Spaces and Meanings are mutually constitutive (Feld, 1981; 1982; Liepins, 2000a). These are the 'stages', not only for musical performance, but also for the performance of rurality and community (Edensor, 2006). Thus, in this section I wish to draw expressed attention to the various 'stages', and their social significances, which I witnessed in Tarset. These physical spaces are therefore integral to describing the materially and culturally informed geographies of community.

> the production of space can be likened to the production of any other sort of merchandise, to any other sort of commodity ... [S]pace ... isn't just the staging of repro- ductive requirements, but part of the cast, and a vital, productive member of the cast at that ... It is a phe- nomenon which is colonized and commodified, bought and sold, created and torn down, used and abused, spec- ulated on and fought over. (Merrifield, 2000: 172–3)

In a brief excersize to illustrate how representations of rurality may be seen as ideations, using Northumbrian album artwork, the reader is directed to figure 4.4 (below). Here Kathryn Tickell's 'Northumbrian Voices' (2013) compact disc cover is contrasted with a still image of the same scene from my ethnographic film, The Long Meadow (2013). Tickell's usage of of Tarset village hall in the liner notes powerfully authenticates the notions of authentic stagings for rurality and folk music. The hall is perhaps the modern equivalent of the traditional dance halls to which much of the album refers. Like the same album venerates David McCracken as an 'authentic voice', so the album artwork stages its visual rhetoric on the village hall, expressing it, perhaps, as an 'authentic stage' in line with the folk ruralism described in chapter 1.1: Encompassing, that is, a rural, communal, imagery.

Image 4.4: Tarset Village Hall represented by Kathryn Tickell's 'Northumbrian Voices' Album (above) and from The Long Meadow (below)

'Performance', in this sense becomes simultaneously the metaphorical performance of rurality, as in Edensor's model, and the performance of rurality through the performance of folk music. Performances of the rural, Edensor suggests, occur in different stages, "at village greens, farm-life centres, heritage attractions, grouse moors, mountains, long-distance footpaths and

farmyards …" (2006: 484). In the following section, I wish to explore some of the ways communal musical events are arranged. As I have suggested, Tarset does not necessarily represent a folk scene in any way. Rather, it is home to various folk musicians who, encouraged by the presence and proximity of each other, and the supportive atmosphere of musical gatherings, choose to make music together, with and for the community at various formal community events. That means however, that certain characteristic features of the folk scene are actually missing in Tarset. That is to say that, the folk-styled forum of the 'sing-around' is not common, nor the revivalist invention of the instrumental 'session'. Rather, music making, if not in a weekly 'practice', appears more orientated towards performances as part of events to celebrate other calendar events or programs in the community.

> So, that may be something about playing music for its own sake, as well as for the sake of meeting your mates in the community. (I~Johnny)

Thus, whilst singing is an available outlet for musical expression by virtue of the song reivers choir, a community organized group; musical playing seems relatively lax. I did however attend one 'session' in the folk revivalist sense at the Holly Bush Inn. The session and the pub, signifying a performance space, stage, and structural setting for Tarset music making, also allow me to highlight some of the ways settings and stages reflect certain communities of difference and competing performances for what constitutes the Tarset community. In this section two stages, the village hall and the Holly Bush Inn will be explored and contrasted. Both, however, will be seen to fulfill a constituent component of the Tarset community, through their associations with music making (Hield, 2010).

Thus, one approach to everyday lives in the rural is to explore the performances and stages upon which meanings and constructions are played out and contested. As a corollary, the performances discourses invite in turn structure the world. This can be a fruitful means to conceive rural change: "Social groups can, then", for instance, as Hibberd (2005: 3) suggests, "choose to replace old conventions, theories, ideologies, practices and bodies

of knowledge with new ones". Equally, however, social groups may choose to maintain older practices in the face of new ones, or indeed, construct assemblages of both. In this light, the prevailing social structures and discourses around Northumbrian music - of tradition, hybridity, dissent and descent, regionalism and globalism, and so forth - can be critically examined in the contemporary music-making practices in Tarset. An attraction in this respect is the means to illuminate quotidian social practices. Thus, it is through the daily interactions between people in the course of social life that our versions of knowledge become fabricated, and these coloured by wider cultural beliefs[85]. Cultural beliefs, like community and place, are called into being by the exigencies of social interaction (Cohen, 1985: 12). That social processes and interaction sustain knowledge also connotes the important relationship between those processes and the social practices that ensue; the longevity of particular constructs depends upon the vicissitudes of social exchange (Cresswell, 2012; Gergen, 1994)[86]. Each construct invites action, which may serve to sustain certain behaviors and subsume others. Social practice, according to Bourdieu, is not consciously, or not wholly-consciously enacted (Jenkins, 2002: 19).

"Performances depend for their coherence on being performed in such particular settings where they reinforce group and placial identities" (2006:

[85] Because the social world is a product of social processes, constructed through social interaction and terrains of discourse, there can be no pre-given or essential nature to 'reality' (Gergen, 1985; 1999; Cresswell, 2012). Social constructionists are consequently concerned with an *ontological pluralism* – or 'plural realism' as Dreyfus puts it (1991: 262; Lock & Strong, 2010) – and the many knowledge objects that compete for precedence in society at any given moment.

[86] To a community study, social constructionism here concerns the functional role social interaction has in the construction of the 'communicative community' (Delanty, 2010; Hughes & Sharrock, 1997). The ways by which the members of a 'community' represent their membership is a 'textual' manifestation and a product of discourse around a tacit sense of commonality: "language", therefore, "derives its significance in human affairs from the way in which it functions within patterns of relationship […] To appraise existing forms of discourse is to evaluate patterns of cultural life" (Gergen, 1994: 50).

484). Moreover, the character and function of the physical setting – usually not solely for folk music making (MacKinnon, 1993) – will communicate and influence assumptions about the community occupying it, and will likewise influence their experience therein (Hield, 2010). As Liepins (2000a) makes clear, ‘ spaces and structures affect how practices can occur’. This was none more so the case than at the Holly Bush Inn in Greenhaugh, Tarset (see map 1.2). Appropriate settings for music making, Hield (2010: 76) argues, “can generate a sense of community around a building as well as with individually organized events”. These ‘stages’, in all their familiarity provide enduring sites around which rituals and routines are performed and communally coordinated (Seamon, 1979). I observed a number of other stages in Tarset, and in the performances there were again expressions of continuity with the past and coherence between music and place. In this sense, we see, as Malbon (1998) showed of nightclub goers, a sense of affinity with both the building and the people within it. Hield (2010: 76) argues therefore, that “familiarity with a venue impacts upon an individual’s sense of belonging; venues could therefore be seen as a constituent part of the community”.

Image 4.5: The Holly Bush ‘Session’

Of these stages, it is the Holly Bush public house to which I shall turn now. To refer again a passage in the Long Meadow, image 4.5 shows a small 'session' taking place in the beer garden of the Holly Bush public house, Greenhaugh. In the previous section I showed how motivated individuals may orchestrate and impart character upon musical events, so in the instance one musician, Roddy Mathews, a temporary 'stage manager', unobtrusively leads the session (Eyre, 2001). Jonathan Stock notes that for instrumental folk musicians, "[t]heir musical and social interactions are, in fact, markedly directed over the course of an evening by the agency of particular individuals and by largely implicit conventions that take shape over time" (2004:43). Interestingly, Roddy actually constructs a sense of performance/audience in his address, suggesting a closer engagement with the community than others have found in more conventional sessions (Stock, 2004). In the film sequence, I present Roddy– a non Tarset resident - discussing Harry Pearson's fiddle. Harry's daughter, Rachael, continues to play the instrument:

> This is Rachael Pearson and she's playing her dad's fiddle. Harry Pearson was a great fiddle player from here. Gary and I walked past his grave and I realized it was 21 years since Harry died. So when we said we were going to do some of these sessions, I thought it would be very nice to come up here and have a tune in Harry's memory; so its lovely that Harry's fiddle is out this afternoon here … There's a nice picture of Harry in the entrance, just beside the door into the pub (TLM, > 00:42:50)

At the Holly Bush a range of performances are played out in a staged setting that materializes multiple meanings of rurality. As Revill (2005) shows in his personal ethngraphy of the Chase in Jacksdale, he describes how performances implicate a mixture of the tangible (community centre, dress making and more) and the intangible (nostalgia, pride and more) (Anderson, *et al.*, 2005). As Liepins (2000a) puts it, 'meanings' may be "embodied in spaces and structures". Such recognizable environments as the Holly Bush, with the familiar props and fellow actors amongst rural ideologies can be enacted. The fiddle for instance, and the prescient sense of historical continuance, are essential to the sustenance of such performances (Edensor, 2006).

Folk music now has a long and 'ingrained' association with alcohol (Hield, 2010)[87] and the Holly Bush is foremost a public house. Alcohol did not seem an important factor in these musical events I attended, however. Though I rarely witnessed anyone drinking to excess, participants suggest that the Holly Bush engenders and supports a different kind of community to the village hall. The hall, though it does sell alcohol during evening events, from the volunteer run bar, is primarily a community space similar in feel to a church hall, or school gymnasium. That is to say that I instinctively felt self conscious in consuming alcohol there, though not, of course, at the Holly Bush. Is the Holly Bush Inn, therefore, an authentic, natural 'stage' not only for the performance folk music, but perhaps the performance of a certain kind of rurality too? As Hield (2010) shows, the particular settings for folk meetings tend to reflect folk ideologies in some way, in order to be successful (see also MacKinnon, 1993; Small, 1998): "The décor of folk venues is rarely plush or geared towards technical effects, and the use of old furniture in little used pub back rooms is more commonplace" (Hield, 2010: 83). It certainly seems to be one significantly regarded historically in terms of local figures and local music. I was struck again between the presence of Harry's fiddle and the track two of Kathryn Tickell's Northumbrian Voices, 'The Fiddle' (2011). There the reading describes an old fiddle passed down through generations. As Burt Feintuch suggests of his experience of learning the Northumbrian smallpipes, "I will never fully grasp the associations loaded onto the instrument – place names, events, connections of all sorts to place and past" (1995: 301).

[87] As one research participant remembers of Shepherd piper John Armstrong: 'But John Armstrong of Carrick was different, because he made sticks, and he was a bit of an alcoholic. His wife wouldn't let him have it in the house. So, over the course of the session he would invite the musicians to go and look at his sticks, and in his shed, with his sticks, he kept a bottle of whisky. And so he would give you a couple of drams of whisky. He would always have a dram of whisky when he fetched the people out! And everybody knew what was happening!' (I~Johnny)

Maureen McCracken gave me photocopied newspaper article written by Harry Pearson himself entitled 'Hollybush Nights' (unfortunately there is no date). There he describes the pub as a centre for folk playing. "There are magic times", he writes, "when the true essence of folk music is distilled … The shyest person, safe amongst friends, will often display untapped musical talents and sensitivity under the heady influence of a ceilidh":

> After the pale light of dawn streaks the sky the revelers begin their weary way home. Who will turn up at next month's session? No one knows, but one thing is certain, that these musical evenings will continue as long as musicians and players continue to come to pubs determined to keep old traditions alive. And its hard to imagine that not continuing …

Traditional music sessions continue at the Hollybush, though with much less frequency than participants claim. "I don't know", Sarah suggests, "they [those who frequent the pub] certainly enjoy folk music when it's sung in the pub because they have regular sessions in the pub and they certainly come along and support that" (I~Sarah). Certainly, during my fieldwork period, this session was the only one I was aware of. It is interesting then, that the very first tunes struck up in the session I joined are two locally anchored; "do the Redesdale Hornpipe and the Lads of the North Tyne; G and D" Roddy suggests (TLM). One might assume that, in seeking a 'sense of place', the actor is likewise seeking to present continuity within the boundaries of that 'sense'. Thus continuity is a relative concept, its assertion a reaction to all that is fragmented and discontinuous. Massey comments that this *seeking after sense-of-place* is often regarded as necessarily reactionary to the perceived threat of traditional boundaries breaking down under the loss of locality; what Marx called "the annihilation of space by time" (quoted in Massey, 1991: 24). Idealised 'places' supporting 'coherent communities', Massey argues, are juxtaposed against fragmentation and dissolution of the parochial. Perhaps continuity is therefore the attempted iteration of the past, recollected, imagined, conditioned by whatever discourses in relation to the present (Ingold, 2000). Thus sense of place is contingent on stasis. Stasis or continuity refers one directly to the temporality of 'place'. A 'place' exists in time, from one moment to the next,

and will continue to do so until some intervention or other causes its re-evaluation. If, to borrow Bachelard's evaluation of 'the house', and drawing affinities between 'dwelling' (in a Heideggerian sense; Ingold, 2000) and 'place', 'place' like the house constitutes a body of images and experiences; so it is from this multiplicity which unitary proofs or illusions of stability are interpreted. Performance however, is perhaps a way to relive the past. But not one naively aimed at recreating it in the present.

Yet these are also contested spaces within the community for enacting the rural space. "There seem to be two groups of people in this area", Anne suggests, "There's a group of people who normally go to the pub on a Sunday afternoon and very few of those were there yesterday. There are distinct groups'"(I~Anne). Thus it is that in Tarset distinct community performances are played out in the two main public stages, the village hall and the public house. Shields (1991, p. 31) argues that these images of space and place become guides for, and constraints upon, action. Applying these two arguments, images of rural space may thereby be seen to contain claims about what the social is, was and should be, as well as affecting what people do in rural spaces. As Edensor suggests, "A stage's boundary might be blurred, be cluttered with other actors playing different roles … performances are increasingly played out by competing actors on the same stage" (2006: 484-485). Stagings for folk music making can also therefore engender senses of alienation as well as inclusion due to their associated functional tenets. There was, for instance, a public occasion where my own class 'otherness' was deliberately accentuated. During a musical evening at the village hall, where I had been asked to sing a solo spot I was introduced, by way of a telling joke, to the audience by a friend and musician from Newcastle, who was comparing the evening. "Our next singer" she said, "is a visitor to the area from a beautiful North-Northumbrian village called Cramlington" (RD). Anybody familiar with my hometown – as the audience would be - would recognize that Cramlington is a south Northumbrian new town and far from beautiful.

Familiarity with the systems which create the places in which folk musicking occurs creates a sense of belonging for insiders, though, "the tacit rule system

makes it difficult for the uninitiated to navigate social processes" (Hield, 2010: 107). Each of the nuances to my access, recruitment and rapport, have therefore provided valuable insights with regards to the politics and structures of inclusion and exclusion within the community. These notions also lead us towards those not empowered to perform the style of community engaged in as that above.

Whilst the instance of my introduction could scarcely illustrate social exclusion, exclusivity does manifest in other ways. Social exclusion has developed as rural studies theme, highlighted in important works on rural 'otherness' (Cloke, 2006b; Milbourne, 1997). I can only speculate as to the true perceptions of Tarset 'others'. As I expressed in the methodology, chapter 3 of the thesis, my access to these non-musical participants was largely unsuccessful. As Crossley (2015a) argues, whilst the actors within a musical network, drawn together by common tastes, will pool their efforts and resources, perform different roles, and also form multiple ties to community, these may have antagonistic as well as cooperative aspects. Thus, specific spaces in the Tarset community, and the perceived practices associated with them, can also engender senses of alienation and exclusion in musical events:

> Unfortunately, and as I suspected, various 'valley politics' came to the fore and I sensed that Kat is probably not the friend of everybody. Indeed, there was an awkward moment when Kat attempted to introduce me to the lady called Rachel, fiddle player and, by all accounts, general difficult customer. I had been stood outside with Rachel – Richard, Shona, and some others – if not actually talking, then at least being in a group together but when, back inside the pub and as Rachel was leaving, Kat called to her would she like to be introduced to me Rachel made a definitive 'no' gesture with her hands and a firm shake of the head. (RD)

An explanation for this is my predominant work with those associated with the village hall, as opposed to the pub. As is evident in Liepins' model 'people' are placed firmly at the centre of social and symbolic constructions of community. However, and as Liepins acknowledges, attention must also be paid to those people putatively 'outside' the community in question, "who may nevertheless name and construct notions about 'community' which could either enable or constrain such collectives" (2000a; 30). In this sense we may begin to consider

notions of the ‘rural other’, of social inclusion and exclusion and of community members constructing meanings in reaction to the perceived ‘otherness’ of other groupings. One may tentatively draw some interpretations from this lack of presence, and my participants’ unproblematic reaction to these ‘others’:

> There are some people who definitely aren’t interested in folk, who live in the community who aren’t and that’s fine, people are entitled… (I~Sarah)

Partly, we witness that moral community (Selznick, 1992) described by early British community studies. The vicissitudes of social iteration are the mechanisms by which community is reproduced. Yet the stages upon which such practices are performed also signify as much about their meaning, as do the discourses themselves. For instance, those ‘others’, largely unknown to me and inaccessible during my fieldwork are inferred by Sarah and Annr to be particularly associated with the Holly Bush, and, in particular to ‘drink a lot’:

> Well, I think one group drink a lot and the other group don’t drink a lot, and one group is more interested, I would say, in sing-songy stuff, not that there’s anything wrong with the sing-songy stuff, I don’t think they are interested in what people call folk music. Because very few of the group who weren’t there yesterday, they didn’t come to the ceilidh on Friday night either (I~Anne)

Sarah suggests similarly:

> Whether it’s a case of they’re supporting it just because it’s there and let’s go and it’s entertainment in the pub or whether it’s let’s go and hear the music and oh incidentally there’s the bar, I don't know. But even the people that are...that don't regularly come to events, if there’s a big community event and it’s a fundraising thing for the village hall or it’s a fundraising thing for the church hall or what have you they will all turn out, even if it’s...even if they don't come and listen to your everyday concerts. So I think it’s just some people like different things I suppose. (I~Sarah)

However, the stages for performance also generate senses of exclusion. “[…] whereas I’m happy to be on the edge of it”, Anne tells me, “and come in when I feel like it, so I don’t think I will ever be a great contributor. I’ll be sort of one of the crowd who’ll sort of come in and out, as long as I can” (I~Anne). To give an example of this is Anne’s reluctance to participate in the session at the Holly Bush:

> But, you know, I went along to the Holly Bush yesterday and I thought I might take my accordion, I might not, and I didn't, and I just didn't think it was appropriate for me to play yesterday. Now that might be hard to understand. There seems to be a tight group at the Holly Bush and I thought if I play will people stop and listen, will people want to stop and listen? I just thought, no, no, they seem to be… It seems to be right on its own. Rachel seemed to be enjoying the music and I thought, well, fine, Rachel's a fine player, and I didn't take part in it. (I~Anne)

If there is competition between actors for the appropriate activities for the rural domain, this is by no means obvious in Tarset. There is however, an implicit distinction between social groups. Sarah considers this an unproblematic and natural aspect of community life, where interests and practices differ

> No. I think it's just a question of different interests more than anything else because everybody's welcome to go to absolutely everything. When we publicise stuff it goes round to everybody in the community. But I think there are people who just like different things which is fair enough, it would be boring if everybody liked the same thing. (I~Sarah)

Indeed, Sarah goes so far as to suggest heterogeneity and difference are a healthy aspect of the community. "Yeah, I think we all support each other generally", she claims, "but it's just there are obviously differences in what people like" (I~Sarah). It remains however, that neither Sarah nor Anne are likely to frequent the Holly Bush. Moreover, Paul, always likely to add a contradictory note, does perceive of an exclusivity in the musical community in Tarset:

> Just because there are more middle class people now. The social ladder's dropped a notch and we're all - there aren't that many working class people in the folk scene, there aren't. Whether that's because, to play an instrument or to get anywhere, you usually have to pay. I guess working class people don't have the money to pay, and schools and colleges aren't providing any funding for music anymore so, I don't know. But, definitely, the community is full of middle class people now. (I~Paul)

An idea is presented of a kind of moral community, whose insularity is a byproduct of its geographical and historical isolation. This leads me too, to the stages upon which community is performed in Tarset, or, rather, the ways community is performed through music making. These 'authentic' stages for

performing music and performing community also develop further the ideas of inclusion and exclusion in a material, spatial sense in conjunction with socio-cultural predispositions. Matless (2005) has shown how landscapes increasingly contested by class division can begin to contest their sonic-geographies likewise. As such popular music, or the radio may be inadmissible but more 'appropriate' sounds such as folk music or nature sounds may become highly valued. "Such moral and aesthetic judgements are informed by complex historical and political ideas and ideologies" (Revill, 2012: 232).

There is a general proclivity towards the ceilidh as a means for community celebration in Tarset. Folk music, as we have seen, is a symbolic means of constructing community. Community subsists upon a sense of internal-unity amongst its members (Cohen, 1985; Skogen & Krange, 2012) and structures of socializing by which certain communal identities are presented both to the group and to outsiders. In Shelemay's words, "a musical community is a social entity, an outcome of a combination of social and musical processes, rendering those who participate in the making or listening to music aware of a connection among themselves" (2011: 365). The strength of these ideas is such that members may also inculcate their ideologies into aspects of their own individual identities. This sense of internal unity can also, however, exist in tension with the perceived otherness and exclusivity of social groups operating in tandem within the community.

4.5. Conclusion to Chapter 4

In this chapter I have presented the Tarset community as a distinctive social construct. Whilst this sense of community is largely geographically located, its construction also concerns the spatial and extra-spatial relations with other putative groups. Employing Ruth Liepins (2000a) model for rejuvenating community studies, I have shown how the meanings of 'community' are

iterated, challenged, and reaffirmed through the practices of folk music in Tarset. This, Cohen (1985) proposes, is the boundary making or maintaining process; the relational idea that 'community' is enacted by the attribution of boundaries (political, administrative, geographical, or *symbolic*) in order for its members to express a distinction between themselves and other putative social groupings. The apparent informality of musical practices in Tarset are actually underpinned by a series of organizational roles. Also in accordance with Liepins' model, therefore, and the admission of material/structural ontologies necessary to a hybrid rural approach, I have also illustrated the significance of motivated individuals and physical settings in influencing the character and make-up of Tarset's musical practices. As Hield (2010) found similarly, the 'ritualized' nature of these events, their repetition and convention, encultures a sense of continuity with the past and the future, and an acculturated sense of elective belonging. At the same time the discussion also recognizes the multiplicity of experiences, attachments and associations generated within any one geographical location (Massey 1993: 64 – 65; also Linkon and Russo 2002: 18; Revill 1993: 120). Thus, whilst the meanings, practices, and structures and spaces, of community musicking (Small, 1998) in Tarset are held by participants to be in common with a shared ethos, in actual fact these can also engender divisions within the community, and forms of social exclusion. Such 'community' as exists in this way, around some cultural affinity, is not objective – though it is rooted in the material - but 'imagined' (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Community is therefore shown as an aspirational construct, associated with in-comer ideals and to which folk music provides a sense of historical and social authenticity. Crucially, through this lens we may observe how "attempts to fix the identity of space, place and rural subjectivities through performance by different groups testify to the desire for fixity and certitude in conditions of continual social and cultural flux" (Edensor, 2006: 484). And in this moment of flux, it seems rural actors wish also to maintain senses of continuity and local distinctiveness in their communities and places, through such symbolic media as folk music and farming (Corsane et a., 2009; Heatherington, 2011).

In the next chapter I turn to Halfacree's notion of the imagined rural space and attempt to show how such imaginings – or sense of place – rather than being dislocated, are complexly interwoven with it's material/structural and practiced/experienced aspects. The ideation of the rural Halfacree pits in contrast to the material; he suggests "the social representation of space approach is likely to contrast an imagined rural geography of landscape aesthetics and 'community' with that of other spaces, notably the city/urban and the suburb (Halfacree, 1995; Murdoch & Day, 1998) (Halfacree, 2006: 47). This contrast is evident in respondents' imposition of symbolic boundaries between the 'place' of Tarset and other spaces, including Newcastle upon Tyne. Boundary making is evident in respondents searching for songs and tunes identifiably 'local' to Tarset, and their showing distinct preferential attachments and claims of ownership to those few 'traditional' examples that do exist. Further instances of this attachment to 'place' through the anchoring of music are provided by participants' own compositions. However, I also show how these boundaries are transgressed in the practise of certain areas of the repertoire, which as we have seen, are distinctly Newcastle orientated. Thus supporting Yarwood & Charlton's (2009) assertion that localized music more often than not operate in relation to other spaces, urban and rural.

Chapter Five: Folk music and Place

Music, I showed in chapter 4, is always shaped by the places in which it is made (Byrne, 2012; Crossley, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c; Small, 1998): Art always, Becker (2004) observes, 'happens somewhere'. The central themes of chapter 5 are the concept of place and the role of folk music in place construction in Tarset. Argued in a sequence of ancillary ideas, Tarset as a significant rural 'place' is expressed through the relationships felt by participants between folk music, geographical space, and their musical representations. Continuing from chapter 4, the important interconnections between the Tarset community and its spatial localities are drawn. The focus here is on what the narratives and experiences of musician participants reveal about perceptions of the role of landscape and memory in constructing and reiterating place-based identity through music making. After a brief introduction (5.1), the discussion is arranged into three broad analytical subsections following Keith Halfacree's (2006a) model for rural space. The first approaches that aspect of Halfacree's model that he describes as 'formal representations of the rural' (for discussion, see chapter 2.2.2.b). Section 5.2 accordingly explores folk music as a representation of rurality in Tarset and in the marketing of Northumbrian music, it therefore represents most closely the ideas of the 'second', socially constructed rural. The second analytical theme addresses what Halfacree (2006a) calls 'rural localities' (see chapter 2.2.1a). Section 5.3 therefore considers how particular aspects of the Tarset landscape may be adopted and represented through folk music in the imaginative construction of place; how the Tarset sonic geography is adapted by musicians and how landscape forms a mnemonic relation with music. This section consequently illustrates the material/structural ideas of the 'first rural' alongside those of representation, as prescribed by the hybrid rural epistemology. The final analytical theme, addressed in section 5.4, is that of 'everyday lives of the rural'. Here ideas of embodiment, dwelling and occupation are further developed, as is the sense in which corporeal engagement with landscape inflects upon music making, and

the discursive ways in which participants construct a sense of bounded identity through the Tarset landscape. Section 5.4 most apparently reflects what I described in chapter 2.1.3 as a 'third rural', one of approaching, in part, a practiced/experienced sense of rurality. Thus, following the provisions of the hybrid rural epistemology outlined in chapter 2, the treatment of place given in this chapter is an attempt to rationalize the practiced/experienced, structural/functional, and constructed/agential aspects of the rural condition (Cloke, 2006). This allows the social connections involved in community to be contextualized and located within the places that also combine dynamic socio-cultural meanings and relations (Liepins, 2000a; Massey, 1991; Panelli & Welch, 2005).

5.1. Introduction

Since the mid 1990s the study of music has enjoyed an increasing popularity beyond its traditional domains. From a substantially empiricist and elitist endeavor (Anderson *et al.*, 2005: 639), vibrant debates now find music in sociological, anthropological, and geographical disciplines and discourses: "Through the identification of various sounds and spaces, geographers attempt to understand the processes that impact on the generation of music at the margins and the development of new cultural cores" (Kearney, 2007: 1). As such researchers have explored corporeal aspects of musical performance (Anderson *et al.*, 2005; Thrift, 2007; Revill, 2012; Russell, 2003) and an emerging literature also studies the significance of musical performance *in* specific 'places' (Dowling, 1996; Finnegan, 1989; Kent, 2007; Knox, 2008; Leonard, 2005; Morton, 2005; Revill, 2004; 2005; Tansey, 1996)[88]. Indeed, within the field of cultural sociology recent ethnographic works have

[88] Such ideas may be imbedded in the metaphorical 'stages' and 'performances' of rurality, in the more-than-representational rural studies literatures (see chapter 2.1; Carolan, 2008; Endsor, 2006; Woods, 2010).

approached the spatial contexts in which musical works are produced and consumed (Bennett, 2000; Bennett & Peterson, 2004; Grazian, 2004; Cohen, 1991). Moreover, music can assist directly in the promotion place identities (Connell & Gibson, 2004; 2003; Long, 2013; Prior, 2011; Roberts, 2012; Shepherd *et al.*, 2005; Whiteley *et al.,* 2004; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009), and no less rural places specifically (Knox, 2008; Shelemay, 2011). Individual and communal identities are also sustained by such musical relationships with place (Cook, 1998; Husdon, 2006; Kong, 1995; MacKinnon, 1993; Revill, 2000; Smith, 2000). Music can likewise evoke emotional attachments to place (Morton, 2005) and articulate them (Adderley, *et al.*, 2003; Campbell, *et al.*, 2007; Hylton, 1981) in geographies of affect and emotion (Anderson 2004a, 2004b; Wood & Smith, 2004). Alternatively, places may themselves provide sonic geographies and 'soundscapes'; their evocation in music representing particular images and place characteristics (Gibson & Connell, 2007; Long, 2013; Matless, 2005). As George Revill (2012: 231) suggests, "from film soundtracks to folksong, music is often thought to invoke particular landscapes, their moods, textures, beauty, grandeur and tranquillity". Indeed various areas of the literature express an interest in music and 'place' and its "potential to represent the lives, grievances and celebrations of those living in rural areas" (Yarwood & Charlton, 2009: 194; Hudson, 2006; Leyshon *et al.,* 1995; 1998; Roberts, 2012). Thus we may conclude, and as Johansson and Bell (2009: 9) succinctly put it, "place is omnipresent in music and, reciprocally, music is clearly evident in place".

The concept of 'place' however, as with 'community', is somewhat elusive of scholarly definition in the rural literature. As Davis (1999:18) concludes "... place is a chameleon concept, changing colour through individual perception, and changing pattern through time". Similarly, Relph (1976: 29) warned that places, because of their subjectively constructed natures, refuse to conform to 'tidy hierarchies of classification'. However, and perhaps in spite of such complexities, Corsane *et al.* (2009: 2) also suggest:

> […] there is no doubt that the elements of place – tangible and intangible – are vital in helping people to understand their own and other places in the world. These elements provide us with the resources to construct cultural identities.

Various rural literatures have emphasized the role of material and cultural ties in engendering place-bound attachments and identities (Cheshire, *et al.,* 2013; Low, 1992; Mee & Wright, 2009; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Trudeau, 2006; Walsh, 2011). Others explore the links between place, community and social practices (Mah, 2009; Savage *et al.,* 2005); through symbolic relations (Altman & Low, 1992; Cohen, 1982; 1985; Low, 1992; Raymond *et al.*, 2010); and in affective, behavioral terms (Morgan, 2010; Raymond *et al.*, 2010; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Following de Certeau (1984), many works also see places as formed by and within the confines of physical spaces, yet amounting to emotionally, experientially and imaginatively greater constructs.

Still others, however, query the potential strength of localized music and place identities in an increasingly globalized world (Anderson *et al.*, 2005; Revill, 2005). In terms of the former, Connell and Gibson (2003) have argued that globalization has mixed and hybridized musical 'styles' to the extent that any strict association between music and local place is largely meaningless (See also Hudson, 2006; Pickering & Green, 1987; Stokes, 2003; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). In the latter likewise, contemporary studies of globalization argue that international flows of immigrants and capital impact the cultural geography of local spaces and places (Appadurai, 1990; Gilroy, 1993; Hall, 2002; Sassen, 1991). Arturo Escobar (2001), for instance, has argued that the globalcentrism now prevalent in the human disciplines tends to affect an erasure of localized places[89] where local places and communities face

[89] Concerning 'place', Saar and Palang (2009) argue, much of the literature offers a disjointed approach to the processes of place construction and to forms of place attachment, meaning and identity. Also highlighted by Halfacree (2006), there is a tension between *structure* and *agency* in epistemologies of 'place'. That is, a tendency for studies of place to gravitate towards one or other fundamental perspective. Rural places are therefore subjective constructs, which, although they may represent geographically fixed locations and extant social structures, are continually discursively

processes that reconfigure and reconstitute their traditional economic, material and cultural lives (Cloke, *et al.*, 1997; Goodwin *et al.*, 1995; McGrath & Brennan, 2011). Authors doubt whether rural localities, or at least socially significant rural localities, can be identified today, especially in the developed world (Cloke, 1999) where mobility, segmented social relationships, and globalized cultural experiences denature place attachment and local belonging (Beck, 1997; Cheshire, *et al.*, 2013; Lash & Urry, 1994; Relph, 1976). A tendency in place literature is therefore to confound any possibility for distinctive places because the processes of globalization can only homogenize them (Saar & Palang, 2009). Moreover, in rural studies, the advance towards post-productionist economies in rural spaces, with various stakeholder interests besides agriculture, have served to make the traditional spaces of the 'first rural' less and less discrete (Galani-Moutafi, 2013; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2010). Rural places are said to be increasingly culturally urbanized (Cloke, 2006) and community studies such as Melko *et al.* (1994) reflect this rural change in identifying what they call the 'metropolitan villages' – a far cry from the structural accounts of early British community monographs.

Yet, as I showed in chapter 4, these literatures also seem to contradict evidence that individuals and local communities still defend vehemently their place-bound identities (Dirlik, 2000; Mah, 2009; Massey, 2005; Savage *et al.*,

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reconstituted. John Agnew (1987) outlines an idea of 'place' as a 'meaningful location' constituted of *location*, *locale* and *sense of place.* 'Sense of place', Cresswell (2004) interprets as the subjective, emotional attachments one makes with specific material locations. These tensions are also what constitutes landscape's enduring analytical potential (Matless, 2003: 230):

> … the matters of memory and history making up and triggered by visions of landscape, the emergent histories of doxic-landscapes which enfold senses of past time into dreams and anxieties for the future.

Daniels (1989) for instance, suggests that 'abiding' by this duplicity, one may gain greater purchase upon the 'whole', and, I argue actually constitutes the construction of Tarset as a dynamic, vibrant place in a state of 'always becoming' (Matless, 2003; Ingold, 2000; Cresswell, 2003; 2004; Massey, 1991; 1997; 2005).

2005). Musically, as Russell (1987) showed in his Sheffield case study, the reaffirmation of rural identity can be sought in practices as continued folk singing traditions (see also Leck, 2011 McGrath & Brennan, 2011; Shelemay, 2012). As Bohlman also argues on the spatialities of folk music:

> [t]he geographic basis of folk music has not disappeared, but it has effectively migrated from rural to urban models, from simple to complex settings. Here, new boundaries arise; the influences on musical genres are greater, but no urban musical grayout is in sight (1988:67)

Thus, notions of 'local distinctiveness' and 'spirit of place' attached to folk music are shown to be important to the construction of identity and sense of belonging, particularly in response to the challenges to localism perpetrated by increasing globalization (Corsane *et al*., 2009). Likewise Smith (1994), Street (1993), and others (see De Nora, 1999) have argued how live performances of even generic music can provide distinctive localized experiences. Some show that, far from being a culturally homogenized space, the terrains of global commercial music are "pitted with alternative spaces of musical production and cultural resistance" (Leyshon, et al., 1995: 428). In chapter 4 I described and illustrated participant assertions of cohesive and stable community boundaries, in a sufficiently relaxed theoretical approach that reveals the degree to which actor performances at times compete and assert dominance over one another within that semblance of conformity (Panelli & Welch, 2005). Thus, geographical mobility for instance, may, paradoxically, strengthen rather than weaken community boundaries, or at least their symbolic expression, and the same may be said in terms of place identities (Cohen, 1982; 1985; Crow, 2008). These however, are also apt to be contested by the coincidence of contrasting ideologies on various stages (see chapter 4.4; Edensor, 2006; Macnaghten & Urry, 1998).

Similarly in Tarset, one way by which 'place' is maintained is through folk music, assisted by notions of the Northumbrian musical discourse, which remains defined by its regional specificity and historical continuance (see chapter 1.2). Yet, such as they are Tarset place constructions, like community,

are neither static nor unrelated to wider socio-cultural spaces and discourses; indeed they exist in relatively to them. How then, and why, do these tensions arise in Tarset? Does this 'reciprocal presence', of music and place, manifest through folk music there? Referring again to my research questions, I address in this chapter the following themes:

How does folk music shape a 'sense of place' in Tarset?

a. Do representations of landscape in music detract from or strengthen any relationship between folk music and place?
b. How far does localised music contribute to an identity of place?
c. Do the historical associations of Northumbrian folk music have impetus in the everyday lives of musicians today?

Attending to such questions offers a way of bringing to the fore some of the intersections between the formal representations, everyday lives and locality that make up a rural space (Wheeler, 2014). As I show, representations and experiences of rurality, landscape and rural occupations are all bound up in the ways in which people relate to the folk music that is a significant feature of Tarset's cultural locality[90]. Employing evidence drawn from ethnographic

[90] I shall have continual recourse to landscape in this chapter, for it is landscape I take as broadly equating to the rural space (Halfacree, 2006; Bell, 2007; Cresswell, 2012). Landscape is a means to explore relationships between humans and the rural spaces they inhabit (Cosgrove, 1998; Jones, 2003). Landscape however, and like place, is an elusive concept, defying uniform conceptual definition (Cresswell, 2003; Setten, 2004); both staunchly interdisciplinary (Matless, 2003), whilst 'refusing to be disciplined' (Bender, 2002). Likewise, place is interlinked with landscape. As Spirn (1998) and Olwig (2002; 2008) have shown, the etymology of the term, *land* (a place and its occupants) and *scape* or *schaffen* (to 'form' that space), shows subject and object united in place making. Humanistic geographers have often drawn upon place in studying such human/landscape relationships (Saar & Palang, 2009). Outlining their mutual epistemological tensions, I illustrate the often-neglected commonalities between the landscape, space and place (Howard, 2011). Throughout the discussion certain 'dualities' will therefore be discerned; namely the opposing forces of 'representation' and 'experience', 'vision' and 'practice', 'imagination' and 'being' (Cresswell, 2003; Mitchell, 2003; Cosgrove, 2003; Matless, 2003). These are perennial concerns not only for theoreticians of landscape, but of community and place likewise: reflecting shared genealogies in structural-functionalist (positivist) and later post-structural,

interviews, participant observation and examples of song and tune - as well as my own personal reflections – I discuss these relationships, representing them as I have observed and enquired after them in Tarset. Throughout the chapter - in parallel with the treatment of community (chapter 4), and in accordance with my hybrid rural epistemological stance (see chapter 2) - I have recourse to the ways both ideated (imagined) and local (material) rural geographies are extant in Tarset folk music[91]. In this line, the ontologically complicit, tangible and intangible elements of music and rural landscape; the material, the imagined and the perceived; the material/structural, constructed/agential, and the practiced/experienced, are explored in this chapter. Thus, following the provisions of a hybrid rural epistemology, the analysis applies Keith Halfacree's (2006; 1993) three-fold architecture of rural space to explore the ontologically complicit triangulation of 'representation', 'locality' and 'lived experience' in place construction – employing also the material/structural, constructed/agential and more than representational paradigms also outlined in chapter 2.

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constructivist (interpretive) paradigms (Paasi, 2001; Saar & Salang; see chapter 2 Epistemological Stance). The former approaches landscape as topographical, material and intensely *visual,* akin to what Bell (2007) calls the 'first rural' (see Cosgrove, 1984; 2001; 2003; Wylie, 2007; Cresswell, 2003; 2013; Howard, 2011). This was a standard framing device in early British anthropological monographs (Hirsch, 1995; Dresch, 1988) and to an extent I see a descriptive value in this (Tuan, 1991). The act of 'seeing' landscape, in this view, may be coloured by cultural history, influencing the *way* we view it (Meinig, 1979; Cosgrove, 2003; Schama, 1996), yet it remains essentially positivistic (e.g. Hoskins, 1955). This is in respect of the necessary ways ethnographic writings 'simplify' the complexity of the social world into 'social representations' (Moscovici, 1984).

[91] Connections are also drawn with the discussion of chapter 4, showing how musical practices can perform a catalytic role in the relationship between community and place making (Hield, 2010).

5.1.1. *Chapter Overview*

The chapter is arranged into the three broad analytical subsections provided by Halfacree's (2006) model, approaching respectively its 'representations of rural', 'rural localities', and 'lives of the rural' elements– though these, like their counterparts in the 'meanings', 'structures and spaces', and 'practices' of community, will be seen as closely interdependent. In the first sections of the chapter, therefore, I attend to ways landscape and place are represented in folk music in Tarset. Codified in the analysis, these I have termed 'general' (ideated) and 'particular' (local) landscapes. Although mutually constitutive, and often referenced and represented alongside one another in both music and in interviews, for ease of analysis I approach the general and particular landscapes in subsections 5.2 and 5.3 respectively. The first pertains to an arena of macro discourse, beyond private experience, and therefore to ideas of a socially constructed, second rural (see chapter 2.1.2). Texts also imbricate much wider cultural ideas and normative assumptions. The term 'discourse' therefore refers to an instance of situated language use, such as the conversations between research participants and myself, their song lyrics and so forth; what Vivien Burr (2003) calls 'micro discourses'. Whilst 'macro discourses' – alternatively 'discursive objects' (Foucault, 1972) or 'social artifacts' (Gergen, 1994; 2009) - Burr suggests, extend the focus of interest beyond the immediate context:

> … they are manifestations of discourses, outcrops of representations of events upon the terrains of social life. They have their origin not in the person's private experience, but in the discursive culture that those people inhabit (2003: 66).

General representations, it will be seen, are less powerful in the evocation of place as are 'particular representations'. Nevertheless, the analytical value of the general is to 'relational geographies' - analyses that see spaces, material and metaphorical, as interconnected (Murdoch, 2006; Massey, 2005; Woods, 2007). They are then a means to encompass global changes within the architecture of rural space. In this I take on board the conclusions of Jessop *et*

al. (2008), who argue explorations of place must first account for linkages extending over different scales that unite specific locations within wider discursive constellations. Indeed, following the hybrid rural epistemology, the analysis considers the interconnections between socio-cultural constructions of rurality across varying platforms (Cloke, 2006; O'Reilly, 2012). Ideas (and ideologies) such as the folk's 'ruralism' - outlined in chapter 1 - are important here.

Continuing the ideas of representation of the rural in folk music, 'particular' landscape representations (5.3) refer to micro discourse and areas of personal and subjective knowledge. This section also introduces the relevance of Tarset's distinctive rural locality, as in Halfacree's (2006) model, in place construction. It is the particular, I argue, which evokes most powerfully place-bound identities. Representations of the particular are therefore crucial to understanding participant experiences of music making in Tarset, and the ways they articulate and claim a local, place-bound sense of identity or *genius loci* (Esocbar, 2001; Dirlik, 2000)[92]. It is in this sense that George Revill (2012: 232) suggests

> … providing an appropriate setting for words, the sounds of music often reflect and invoke landscape at a distance, supplying, rhythm, melody, and harmony to support and set the scene for description in words, narratives and images.

Whilst ontologically complicit with socio-culturally constructed rural discourses, particular landscapes also reflect the physical locality of the first rural (chapter 2.1.1). "In short", as Bell asserts (2007: 413), "mater-reality and idea-reality each annunciate, and reannunciate, the rural – and each other", ideas which will appear continually throughout analysis of the general and particular landscape. The general and particular broadly reflect, therefore, the

[92] Whilst the theory of 'lyrical realism', which contests that folk song lyrics represent the 'real' or 'true' aspirations of the working classes, has been drawn into debates on 'authenticity' and 'origin' debates of the folk discourse (Frith, 1989; Harker, 1985), I choose instead to note their formal use in new compositions within the idiom. By this I refer to their use as 'representational codes' for rurality, employed to greater or lesser levels of abstraction.

tenets my epistemological stance, which requires admission of both material/structural and constructed/agential conceptualizations of the rural: One which sees as connected macro and micro discursive practices across various spaces and scales (see chapter 2.2; O'Reilly, 2012; Marsden, 2006; Cloke, 2006).

However, general and particular landscapes are not exhaustive interpretations of place making and folk music in Tarset. The 'background potentiality' of their predominantly visual/ aesthetic landscapes are only one layer and background potentiality must exist in lived relation to 'foreground actuality', inspiring the lived rural experiences of narrative, emotion, imaginations and events through music (Hirsch, 1995; Johannesdottir, 2010; Madison, 2005). This then, is rural space seen not as a "practico-inert container of action", but instead as a "socially produced set of manifolds" (Crang & Thrift, 2000:2). These occur in an invisible cartography, like that provided by song and tune, emerging through interaction with the landscape (Ingold, 2000; Malpas, 2005; Smith 1984). Discussion of the general and particular leads therefore, through the gamut of 'representation' and 'locality' definitions of Halfacree's (2006; 2012) model, and towards that of more-than-representational approaches to 'lived rural experience': To this I turn in the final part of the chapter. Section 5.4 therefore reflects upon the notions of a third rural space - of rural dwelling, occupation – particularly shepherding - and performance stages through folk music and more-than-representational ethnography (see chapter 2.1.3)

5.2. General landscapes – Representations of the Rural

In this section I demonstrate the ways participants' music and interview responses illustrate wider discourses on 'rurality'. After Halfacree's (2006; 2007; 1993) three-fold architecture, these I call 'general' 'representations of the rural' (chapter 2.2.2.b). By the term 'general' I refer to the rubric features of

rural landscape *per se*, commonly wind, trees, rivers, hills, and so forth. With 'exchange value', general references in folk song to rural landscape may promote the sense of authenticity associated with folk ruralism – which thrives upon theorized rurality and 'folk ruralism' (outlined in chapter 1.2; Boyes, 1993; Halfacree, 2011; Hield, 2010; Redhead & Street, 1989). Indeed, the kind of representational rurality provided by folk music also illustrates the "… seemingly indelible association that rurality has with nature" (Bunce, 2003; Cruickshank, 2009; Halfacree, 2012: 396; Jones & Cloke, 2002). General representations in folk music therefore incur an imagined sense of rurality, that is, a constructed/agential 'second rural', abstracted, detached and in tension with the material locality of the 'first' (Bell, 2007, see chapter 2.1). General landscapes are therefore rural space *conceived* through abstracted "arcane signs, jargon, codifications" (Merrifield, 2000: 174). That they are general and abstracted, however, also expresses a semantic detachment from specific places and rural localities. "The concept of social representation, because it is representational," Halfacree (2006: 47) explains, "does allow us to retain a notion of rural space, albeit one that is much more 'virtual' than that implicated in the locality definition". The term 'general landscape' therefore describes the ways participant discourses tell of non-place-specific rural spaces, even if the putative object of their discourse is Tarset itself. Regarded in a constructionist manner such virtual or mediated spaces provide references to a rural coloured by many and various macro discourses (Mills, 1997). Some of these 'cultural lenses', I suggest, may be interrelated with Western landscape aesthetics and the rural idyllicism of the media (Howard, 2011). The discussion then necessarily encompasses ideas of the construction and contestation of the 'rural idyll' (Mingay, 1989; Bunce, 1994; 2003; Short, 2006; Bell, 2006; Blackstock *et al*., 2006); the commoditization of rural images (Bell, 2006; Cloke, 1997); and the reproduction of the rural through media (Hidle, *et al*., 2006; Juska, 2007; *Phillips et al*., 2001). The general landscape is therefore to extend focus beyond the immediate local context. Its origin is not in a person's private experience, but instead in the discursive culture they inhabit (Burr, 2003).

5.2.1. *General landscapes in Participant Music & Discourse*

As recurring motifs, images and phrases - or, in A.L. Lloyd's words, 'lyrical floaters' (Lloyd, 1967: 193-197, Frith, 1989) - the general landscape may occur traditionally as a folk song fragmented into various localized versions, or through songs coursing similar themes (Roud & Bishop, 2012). Imagine, for instance, the ubiquitous folk song opener, '*As I walked out one May morning*'. Or rhetorical song-places such as moorland, heath, 'the greenwood side', and 'the banks of the bonny …', balladic settings "for encounters that are variously illicit, sexual, and/or life- threatening, the common thread being one of rural isolation and secrecy" (Atkinson, 2013: 6). By and large, such general representations of landscape in both traditional, broadside and contemporary song and tune, work in a cumulative fashion to denote a sense of English landscape (Atkinson, 2013). However, Frith (1989: 83) suggests that, rather than being clichés, such instances also signify "the anonymous, spontaneous, communal process in which folk songs are made" (1989: 83)[93]. Indeed it is maintaining idiomatic conformity, I argue, that new compositions also develop a sense of local 'authenticity' in folk ruralism. Respondents, particularly those without formal musical training, engage in various bricolage activities with regard to music, mobilizing, picking and choosing in magpie fashion musical 'bits' or, as Negus (1996: 94-96) has aptly termed them, 'semiotic particles'

[93] Tarset, however, has a notable absence of 'traditional' songs; the general landscape therefore appears primarily in participants' own compositions. As we shall see, the composition of new Tarset songs to fill this dearth is an important aspect of musical place making. The (re)employment of traditional motifs in new compositions reflects the iterative way 'folk-styles' tend to reproduce culturally recognisable images of the rural. Thematic and stylistic conformity with the traditional idiom may also explain the perpetuated place of folk music as a 'representation of the rural', so indicating an inflection upon rural lives. This view is also closely related to the 'production of culture' paradigm, outlined by Peterson (1976) and adopted by Becker (1982) into studies of music making. Becker sought to explore the various cultural influences that mediate music making, and their impact upon the works created (Leck, 2012). Musical works are seen as part products of the cultural zeitgeist of their production (Becker, 1982).

that in turn provide cues for and parameters within which a respondent's modes of aesthetic agency come to be configured and transformed (DeNora, 1999: 44). They are then, references to the general substance of the first rural landscape, of 'low population density', 'agrarian production' and 'physical inaccessibility', a space antithetical to that of the urban. As much as they are present in song, the general landscape also recurs in participant dialogues on landscape, indicating a connection between the two. David, a prolific songwriter, himself expresses in a typically matter-of-fact way the way that landscape inflects upon his music:

> … The past; hills, rivers; they all play a significant part in what actually makes you sort of, write a song. (I~David)

Whilst Tarset is certainly a place of hills and rivers, reference to such general motifs I interpret more broadly as pre-established cultural assumptions about what adequately constitutes 'rural landscape': e.g. "that mountains and rivers have high landscape quality" (Lothian, 1999: 177). This is a stylised rural setting such as that discerned by Atkinson (2013:5) in many traditional ballads, "populated with 'oak' and 'thorn', which, like the 'bows [i.e. boughs] of yew' […] are possibly, albeit not necessarily, typically English trees". Following the arguments of Munn (1986) as well as Hirsch and O'Hanlon (1995), value creation is integral to cultural interpretations of the environment. Thus, trees, streams, rivers, hills and fells are indeed commonplace terms in participant responses about landscape. If then, as Yi-Fu Tuan (1979: 89) argues, landscape is an 'image', "a construct of the mind and of feeling" and one "not to be [academically] defined by itemizing its parts", these subsidiary clues are clearly a means by which lay narratives articulate both landscape's general materiality and a sense of its cultural value. To illustrate, Sarah, employing the language of the general landscape, expresses a sense of Tarset's 'feeling' and 'weight' by metaphor of hills and stones -

> Well just the place itself it's got a very strong feel to it, Tarset, you know; the hills and the stones themselves and the sense of history and the sense of weight behind the place (I~Sarah)

In part, authors have explained this 'itemization' of landscape as the result of its being too large a concept for lay people to express, showing instead the tendency to instead articulate rural space in terms of such general features (see Alumäe *et al.*, 2003; Kaur *et al.*, 2004; Saar & Palang, 2009; Soini, 2001). Through nature, therefore, soil, rocks, water, animals, plants, insects, weather, temperature, even supernatural forces – "the mystery, spirituality and ghostliness of rural places" (Cloke, 2003: 6) – are brought (back) directly into human understanding of rurality's re-invention (Halfacree, 2012). Thus one way in which people make claims to permanence and stability in 'place' is through recourse to nature (Cresswell, 2013): The images participants draw upon are often such culturally embedded representations of the rural. Sarah continues:

> …part of that is having the freedom and the space and the skies and having the granite and the rock which is uncompromising and just there and you know it's been there for eons (I~Sarah)

Arguably, landscape can only be seen through the particular cultural 'lenses' provided by such mediated forms (Howard, 2011) and the idiosyncrasies that shape our worldviews (Appleton, 1994; Bourdieu, 1979). Constructionist approaches, epitomized by the 'production of culture' paradigms outlined by Peterson (1976) and Becker (1982), explore the various cultural influences that mediate music making, and their impact upon the works created (Leck, 2012). Such accounts see musical works as part products of the cultural zeitgeist of their production, where genre, taste and production are social and discursive accomplishments (Prior, 2011; Becker, 1982). Foundational philosophers and sociologists of music, such as Adorno (1976), have also explored the connections between music and individuals thoughts, behaviors and place within social structures. More recently scholars have generated more complex understandings of the iterative relationships between the mutually embedded natures of the social and the aesthetic (DeNora, 2003; Gomart & Hennion, 1999).

Pierre Bourdieu's seminal work, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984) has been canonical work in sociologies of music

(Prior, 2011). Bourdieu argues that dispositions of taste, expressions of the self, acquire significant social meaning in relational systems of propriety and power. Authors have employed Bourdieuian categories of capital, field and habitus in studies, for instance, of musical populism and elitism (Reynolds, 2009). These ideas we have already met with in chapter 4.2 of the thesis, wherein I described elements of community attachment through expressions of aspirational taste in folk music. Such systems however, are often unrecognized, masked by normative, *doxic* assumptions; concealed, we might say, by one's *habitus*. The habitus can therefore describe the ways in which social and discursive structures (and their associated inequalities) are reproduced without challenge in the inter-generational acumen of 'the way things are'. Human knowledge and practices, however, and the ways in which we talk about them therefore, are not a naturalized product or causal outcome of the object to which they pertain. Rather they are an outcome of historical socio-cultural processes and are, arguably, social constructs:

> The terms by which we account for the world and ourselves are not dictated by the stipulated objects of such accounts … [They are] social artefacts, products of historically and culturally situated interchanges among people … (Gergen, 1994: 49 in Flick, 2008)

My assumption is that participants, myself included, may prereflexively adhere to a peculiarly Western lineage of landscape representation[94]. The general, then, is landscape abstracted or 'landscape-at-a-distance' (Revill, 2012), attached as much to social construction of the rural in the West than to Tarset itself. It is in this sense that Hirsch (1995) describes a landscape of 'background potentiality', of imaginary or idealised settings, articulated in music and discourse though general features. Against this plays a 'foreground' of actuality and everyday life. The landscape could therefore be

[94] Although I hesitate to paint such a broad picture, and my own experience has shown me that very many folk musicians begin playing as children, as I indicated in my methodology chapter (3), this classification largely fits my own sample group. It is reasonable to assume therefore, that they have engaged with mediated representations of an 'ideal countryside' (Bunce, 1994).

conceptualised socio-culturally as a background of *potentiality* in tension with a foreground of *actuality.* Just as the development of 'landscape' in Western thought is deeply connected with the aesthetics of 'landscape art' (Andrews, 1999; Thomas, 1984), so too are the values given to 'hills and rivers' and so forth, rooted in that history (Cosgrove, 1985; 2003; Lothian, 1999; Howard, 2011). Cresswell (2003), using Bourdieu's terminology, calls these 'doxic landscapes'. That is, a construct of practice and representation which "connects people to landscape in a way which naturalizes the sense of landscape" (Lund & Benediktsson, 2010: 6; Ingold, 2000). Revill (2005: 693) echoes this case, describing a conventional view of folk music as an "engagement between the specificities of land and people and the intimacies of labour and leisure". The discourses of the general landscape are normalized by the persuasive power of discourse. Johnny echoes this sentiment in terms of the general landscape:

> So, it's just a case of people, if you're used to living amongst the hills you get an affection for it, it's there all the time. (I~Johnny)

To query such discourses is to question how far comprehension of 'the real world' can exist outside of the discourses used to structure understandings (Murdoch & Marsden, 1994). It is in this sense that the general landscape exists as a 'significant imaginative space', that is, a second rural (Bell, 2006) and one "connected" as Cloke (2006: 18) furthermore suggests, "with all kinds of cultural meanings ranging from the idyllic to the oppressive" (and generated by various capitalist, bureaucratic, political and, importantly here, cultural discourses).

The 'anchoring', or articulation of locality in David's songwriting extends from such generals as those seen above – the hills, the rivers etcetera - to the acutely particular. By this I mean that the landscape of Tarset features prominently in his lyrics and this is often refracted through the more general 'representational codes' provided by folk songs (Revill, 2012), and, at the risk of sounding somewhat ambiguous, by Culture more generally (Cresswell, 2003; 2013, see Daniels, 1990; 1993; Olwig, 1984). The lyrics of David's song

‘Yet! Yet! Tarset, Tarret!’ are a good example of the general in a representational practice:

‘Yet! Yet! Tarset Tarret!
Yet! Yet! Is the Cry.
Men they will come and men they will die.

Tarset and Tarret, two burns of the Tyne,
Flowed on their way for an awful long time:
Seen many deeds, both right and wrong,
Hear the Milburn’s sing out their song:

(Chorus)

Now you must flow peaceful and true,
For us to discover the most of you;
But when the wind blows and the blizzard is free,
Hear it sing as it blows through the trees:

(Chorus)

Tarset and Tarret flow on to the sea,
Flow on as neither you nor me;
And as they roll over each boulder and stone,
Think all the time of their Borderland home:

(Chorus) (TLM~David)

David told me, turning to point from his living room window to the expanse of hill outside: “That river down there is the Tarret, the one on the other side is the Tarset. It was the stronghold of the Millburn family back in the reiving days and their call was ‘Yet! Yet! Tarset Tarret!’ And we thought, or I thought, I’d make up a song about that” (I~David)[95]. The Tarset and Tarret burns are the two main watercourses in Tarset parish (see map 1.2). As quotations of the

[95] As Nancy Ridley tells us: “No wonder that until 1770 the good people of Newcastle refused to have any apprentices in the city who came from North Tynedale! *Tarset and Tarret burn/ Hard and Heather bred, Yet-Yet-Yet*. The war cry of the Tarset men must often have struck terror into the hearts of their enemies (1966: 78).

particular, these extra-musical references locate the song both notionally and geographically, delineating 'place' in the spaces of landscape. David reproduces his experience by 'decoding', the manipulation of history and the production of aesthetic value, which he makes available as an unambiguous commodity (Galani-Moutafi, 2013). Thus we might discern in 'Yet! Yet!' the notions of 'imitation', 'quotation', and 'allegory' in the representation of rural space (Revill, 2012). The *imitation* of the Millburn's battle-cry, the *quotation* of the names of the burns; these are augmented by the more general references to the rural, of the blowing wind singing in the trees and so forth. They give life to the song making it accessible to those with no knowledge of the stands of conifers, of the winters in Tarset; nor the bloody history of this intermediate 'borderland'. Yet the song is also forever reminiscent and a product of the Tarset's unique physical and historical landscape. In doing so, this engagement with the landscape works to iterate certain histories and knowledges creating a dialectical relationship between past and present. Thus, the message conveyed is that the place acquires its salience or uniqueness from cultural use rather than from intrinsic qualities. As Atkinson (2013: 18) claims

> I would like to borrow this idea of poetic 'presentation' to describe the presence in ballad texts of elemental markers that the experiencing mind (singer/auditor/reader) can choose to engage (or not) and so consciously to experience again (imagine) the ballad narrative taking place within the context signalled by that marker. In this case, the context is one of specific (as opposed to stylised) English place.

As Richmond's (1946) seminal study of place names in traditional ballads concluded, more often than not, inclusion of specific locational detail adds a degree of 'realism'. This locational realism is evidently present in 'Yet! Yet!'. Such 'realism' Atkinson (2013) argues, however, "is strictly limited, and […] it still belongs to the 'stylized limbo' of the ballad world, and that even where a real place name – 'Reading', for example – is substituted, it may still lack any real denotative reference to the actual town". In this manner, a globalized rendition of nature is somewhat balanced by a more culturally-specific

(indigenous) one, though remaining generalized nonetheless. Whereas 'Walk with me', which we saw in the last chapter, is entrenched in a map of the geography of the river North Tyne, Yet! Yet! occupies a stylized limbo of a 'borderland home', in Atkinson's (2013) phrase evoking Tarset locality only elliptically. "'Elliptical' is a useful term", Atkinson (2013: 11 – 12) suggests, "because of the way in which such oppositions bend the narratives back towards a lightly designated English setting". The lyrics may not be very firmly anchored in Tarsetarrean soil by literary description, but they are drawn back to it nonetheless. David's perspective represents nature as essence, within cultural context yet it does not position it historically, in the sense of showing how at different times Tarset figured in peoples; except those of course, of the Reiving Milburns. Such cultural factors and performances entail a symbolic means of orientation within a spatial world, a "sense of the world which lies beyond the sphere of our personal experience, and our sense of place within this world…shaped by mediated symbolic forms" (Thompson, 1995: 34). One may argue that there is an invited reference to an English landscape in instances such as these: a kind of 'geographical synecdoche'.

My argument here, outlined in chapter 2.3, is that recourse to the general landscape is an indication of variously and severally appearing rural discourses. Even apparently normative descriptions of landscape can mask cultural taste judgments. Indeed, general landscapes may be, to use Cloke's terminology, 'hyper-real commodities', assets to be claimed and consumed in representations of the rural (1997; 2006), and in particular the rural idyll. These are all the more valuable because of their embedded position in British culture (Bell, 2006; Bunce, 2003; Horton, 2008a; 2008b etcetera). In chapter 4.2 I introduced these ideas with regards the discourses by which the Tarset community identifies and bounds itself, hinged upon the commoditization of particularly rural imagery and practices. This is, as Halfacree (2012) puts it, rurality as "scenic amenity"; tied to extra-spatial capitalist economies.

There are countless opportunities to consume the idyll in contemporary society (Cloke, 1994), commoditized in taste and style such that we may all,

willingly or not, engage in an 'armchair countryside' (Bunce, 1994). Defined by Halfacree's model as expressions of capitalist, bureaucratic and political interests, representations of the idyll are exchanged across any number of cultural forms and practices; on television, film, literature, poetry, art, and song (Short, 2006, see also Horton, 2008a; 2008b, Phillips *et al*., 2001). Phillips *et al*. (2001) discussing the relationship between rural experience and the media (specifically television) draw upon rural literature that posits the rural idyll, or at least idealization of the rural, as having real consequences in contestations of power in rural spaces (see Bell, 2006; Cloke *et al*., 1995; 1998; Halfacree, 1994; 1995). Such exertions of power and performances of rurality (Edensor, 2006) I have discussed at length in chapter 4.4. Thus, we might read the 'general' in folk song as a kind of correspondence "between the pictorial ideal and the countryside itself" (Hirsch, 1995: 2): That is, meaningful articulations of what constitutes rurality, though not necessarily contingent upon actual, local places. To borrow from Cloke (1994: 171), he suggests

> Rural life reflects at one and the same time the boundlessness of the imagined landscape and community and the restrictiveness of material and cultural conditions which permit the imagined to be lived out in anything other than the imagination.

One way in which this cultural restriction has transpired is in the conspicuous lack of traditional folk material from Tarset, certainly with regards songs. David's compositions therefore explicitly reflect a desire to fill this dearth. "That's really one of the reasons I started writing songs about here" David tells me, "There's tunes more than songs …" For others, a lack of locally relevant material is problematic to their constructions of musical place:

> And it's been difficult up here because a lot of the stuff that you come across is generic to Northumberland as a whole and particularly from Newcastle. So it's been quite interesting finding ones that are actually local to this particular area or to the borders areas and so on, so it's quite interesting (I~Sarah)

As I argued in chapter 1.2, it may be that rural migration patterns in the 19th and early 20th centuries have resulted in an older and more dispersed canon of

Northumbrian song, yet one that is more generic in its lyrical anchoring (Murphy, 2007). Sarah acknowledges this possibility:

> Possibly because of the nature of it, possibly because it's a moving population rather than anything else. Because historically as well as I suppose modern days I suppose if people were moving around a lot I suppose you just...you don't get the solid grounded based tradition. (I~Sarah)

Regarding the relative paucity of traditional material in the Tarset locale Sarah further reflects:

> But it does seem odd because there is an awful lot of strength of feeling about a home and a sense of place and a sense of belonging about this area and those are the sorts of conditions that you would expect to find local music. (I~Sarah)

Whilst the generics of Northumbrian music may indeed harbor a coherent sense of regional place and identity, this, as we shall see, is insufficient to satisfy a sense of local place identity. Thus general images, Tuan (1991) urges, are not as powerful evocators of place as are 'particular terms' and references to particular landscapes. I too felt a tension in the desire to find 'particular', 'solid', 'grounded', 'local' music: General terms, which perhaps not coincidentally, mirror those used by participants to describe the landscape. The tension I felt between the general pictorial ideal and the particular countryside of Tarset itself arose often in my fieldwork. Epistemological tensions, that is, between ably accounting for 'representation' and 'experience', 'imagination' and 'being', 'ideation' and 'materiality' (Cosgrove, 2003; Cresswell, 2003; Matless, 2003; Mitchell, 2003) necessary to implement a hybrid rural epistemological stance (chapter 2). Thus my own experience of Tarset was one of continually challenging my preconceptions of Northumbrian music and the visualisation of landscape. Interestingly, this often happened by walking (something I shall discuss further in section 5.4 of this chapter). The following extract reveals my own encultured notions, arguably derived from what Bell (2006) calls the 'Media Idyll' (Cosgrove, 2003; Howard, 2011) and illustrates the tension I felt between a culturally visual (aesthetic) and a more phenomenological (lived) landscape.

I left Burdonside on foot.

I had come on a mid-week afternoon to join the McCrackens in ‘turning the cows to the hill’, releasing the cattle from the shed in which they had overwintered for some seven months. The family had thought the cows’ gambolling, “one of the greatest joys of being a farmer”, would be a good piece in my film and, really, having learned to ‘bed the beasts’ – helping David to muck-out and lay new hay during the winter months – I felt a wish to see them freed too and to share what seemed to be a special annual moment with the family. The date had been brought forward a day or so, in order that Maureen, who was going away walking, could be there. She had a camera with her too.

Making the most of the weather afterwards, I decided to walk up Blackmoor Skirt – the large mass behind the Sundaysight farm almost directly opposite Burdonside. I thought it interesting that David called the hill Sundaysight, rather than its name on the ordnance survey map. Walking first over the little burn and then up towards Highgreen, I turned right at Shona and Richard’s cottage, following the wall across the valley through the sodden peaty fell. I took some footage of a lone tree that I had seen from Burdonside, somehow it didn’t seem quite so isolated as it did from afar.

During my weekly visits to Burdonside I had slowly come to learn the extent of its land, doing this or that job. I had not walked this way before and was struck by my response to the landscape around me. I felt by turns a strange sense of familiarity, as though there was a resemblance with the somewhat staid countryside near where I grew up. Climbing on, this was replaced once again by the strange expanses of the fell-sides.

Chatting briefly with the farmer from Sundaysight, doing his lambing rounds on quad-bike, interested in my camera equipment, I sat in a depression a took footage of the scene before me. The entire North Tyne valley, in fact many valleys large and small, such was the altitude I had gained, spread out to a horizon many miles away. The image appears very early in The Long Meadow. Looking back at the footage a few days later, I was both surprised and pleased to notice not a single sign of human presence.

Later that day, I would be consider more consciously, the very particular ways in which I was experiencing the ‘landscape’. Driving home through the leafy lanes of Bellingham, heavy with foliage on either side, I played on the car stereo Martin Hayes and Dennis Cahill’s ‘Welcome here again’ album; enjoying the emphatic, ineffable way the music seemed to complement what I saw about me. Why was that? Somewhat unfortunately, I reasoned, countless cultural references, in film and television, have associated traditional sounding music with evocations of ‘countryside’. In that way, the acoustic, the timbre, the particular modal qualities of

> traditional music act as little more than a signifier – a metaphor for rurality, an allegory for the idyll. I also wondered, somewhat disappointed, at how this Irish music seemed to fit so well with the Northumbrian hills of the North Tyne. Would any audio-signifier exact the same response? This, I supposed, was exactly what I wished to know from my participants. (RD)

As the conclusion to the passage illustrates foremost, the general landscape is distinctive in its disassociation from material referent. The media idyll has powerfully associated 'folk-sounding-music' – particularly Irish music – with a general 'rural landscape' in my consciousness; that is, with trees, rivers, hills, fields and so on and so forth. Perhaps there is variation between such constructs – Chinese or Balkan music would not induce the same response – but this is minimal within the Anglophone repertoire (Morton, 2005). Likewise, there is a sense in which I *hoped* for closer attachment between music and the particular landscape of Tarset. And yet another in which the power of the general landscape takes hold; the scene of the North Tyne valley is valued for its absence of human presence, as if tacitly afforded some kind of authenticity to the notion of rurality. As such, general landscapes are distinctly culturally value-laden, particularly in terms of a Westernized aesthetic (Howard, 2011; Wylie, 2007; Andrews, 1999; Macnaghten & Urry, 1998). Here then, as Perkins (2006) suggests, the commodification of the rural sign (object) into an abstract signifier (image) allows an exchange, predicated upon the 'conspicuous nature of social meaning' generated and upheld by the process. The important aspect of the representations of rurality illustrated here, is, after Baudrillard (1983a, 1983b) the conspicuous and valuable nature of social meaning:

> Commodification involves the absorption of the object into the image, thereby allowing exchange to take place in semiotic form. Commodities reflect sign exchange values. The focus here for producers and consumers is the conspicuous nature of social meaning, and the commodity will often involve abstract signifiers that can be unrelated to the reality of the commodified place, practice or object (Perkins, 2006: 246)

In terms of the rural, rapidly changing conditions of rural life, place and political economy signify these important shifts in the cultural and material

complexion of rurality. As Cloke (2006: 18-19), echoing Newby (1980), argues:

> The urbanization and indeed globalization of cultural dissemination through broadcast and print media and especially the Internet, means that most seemingly rural places in the Western World are effectively culturally urbanized.

That is to say, folk music is an easily communicable and interpretable reference to an imagined rurality (Shields, 1991). The process may also, however, incur the detachment of the signifier from the reality of the rural space (Cloke, 2006; Murdoch & Pratt, 1993). Through the lens of socio-cultural constructionism, we begin to witness the problematic identified by Halfacree (1993) whereby *significations* (meanings of rurality) are increasingly detached from the *sign* (rurality), due to media and other representative sources. "Moreover", Cloke (2006: 22) suggests, "sign and signification are becoming increasingly divorced from their *referent* (the rural space) […] meaning that socially constructed rural space has become more detached from geographically functional rural space" (Perkins, 2006; Murdoch & Pratt, 1993)[96]. I capture this tension through discussion of the ubiquitous rural idyll, and in particular its commercialization in Northumbrian music, showing general representations as inflected with culturally valuable references to landscape and possessed of certain commoditized 'exchange values' (Bell, 2007; Perkins, 2006). Thus, if symbolic notions of the rural have become detached from their referential moorings in the geographically located rural space, such that we might regard it in terms of 'post rurality' (Murdoch & Pratt, 1993), Cloke suggests, consumers of the rural may continue to seek this "inauthentic pastiche of meanings and symbols" and are nevertheless "happy to go along with this postmodern condition" (2006: 22). This is the rural that Bell (2007) has termed the third rural (see chapter 2.1); rurality as the simulacrum of imploded object and representation (Baudrillard, 1983a). As Perkins (2006: 246) summarizes, "the commodity is eclipsed by the sign, so it

[96] The consequences of this detachment have aroused a cynicism in the literature concerning the possibility of distinctive local places.

implodes into its imagery, and is characterized by simulacrum". In this scenario, Best (1989: 24) suggests:

> […] Previous distinctions between illusion and reality, signifier and signified, subject and object, collapse, and there is no longer any social or real world of which to speak.[97]

Cloke (2006) has argued therefore, also in Baudrillardian fashion, that the detachment of such representations from their 'referential moorings' in real places is symptomatic of the erosion of 'distinctive places'. A symptom of this, he argues, is the effective cultural urbanization of the rural. This cultural hybridization is again illustrated by the general landscape in folk music. Such 'generic terms' may even suspend the existence of place. The commodification of the rural sign (object) into an abstract signifier (image) allows an exchange, predicated upon the 'conspicuous nature of social meaning' generated and upheld by the process, but also the detachment of the signifier from the reality of the rural space (Perkins, 2006). These detached signifiers of 'Northumbriana kitsch' (Murphy, 2007) are readily available in the marketing of Northubmrian folk music, ideas to which I now turn in order to further illustrate the idea of the general landscape.

5.2.2. *General landscapes in the Marketing of Northumbrian Music*

I now make reference to some of the ideas assessed above with reference to my ethnographic flm, The Long Meadow (2013). Throughout the making of the film I sought to explore my own relationship with landscape and music, along side that of my participants. Image 5.1 (below) is taken from film. In this interval, like others in the film, I joined a lengthy view of landscape with a piece of music. In this instance, the 'Wild Hills of Wannie' are shown as seen

[97] This apogee of postmodern thought, and the tendency toward ever decreasing circles of relativity, I addressed in chapter 2 'Epistemological Stance'.

from the summit of Blackmoor Skirt, the music is the tune 'Wild Hills of Wannie'. In the passage my intention was precisely to question how visual and aural representations may combine in a representation of rurality; to what extent can Northumbrian folk music represent the Northumbrian landscape in which it its ostensibly 'anchored'? To what extent can music become spatially fixed, where it is "linked to particular places and establishes those links as traditional and genuine aspects of local cultures" (Connell & Gibson, 2007: 19)? In a sense, this is an open question. The passage deliberately reenacts the kind of hegemonic media discourses which associate a particular kind of general rurality with folk music; rustic, historical, atmospheric, and in Northumberland; wild, lonely, isolated, moody. My intention was to highlight the tensions innate in the spatial fixing of a music in any terms other than socially and culturally constructed. In this sense, the passage is a mediated representation of rurality – mediated literally, through the medium of film, but also through the viewer's own encultured 'gaze'. Philips *et al.* (2001) have argued that the representation of the rural through media constructs 'socio-spatialities', enacting powerful social and spatial imaginaries. The power of these associations, "cooked up for us to dream of in popular culture" (Bell, 2006: 150; Bunce, 1994), is their pertinence to the wider representations of the rural in popular culture (Phillips, 1994) and the dominant ideologies by which representations can engender cultural politics of place (Rose, 1994; Smith, 1997).

Image 5.1: The ‘Wild Hills O’ Wannie’ from Blackmoor Skirt

Such commodification of the general landscape is a concept prevalent in the marketing of folk music (Long, 2013; Revill, 2012) and the ‘implosion’ can be illustrated by the marketing of Northumbrian folk music in particular. Promoters and artists have often associated authenticity with ‘rawness’, ‘honesty’ or going beyond the trappings of ‘showbiz’ (Frith & Horne, 1987: 88) and this through some expression of regional, often rural identity (Roberson, 2001; Connell & Gibson, 2007). Likewise, Connell and Gibson argue, the powerful draw between music and place means that “... depictions and descriptions of places are recurring themes in musical commodities” (2004:4). Images of a particular kind of rurality are employed for marketing Northumbrian music, as the tableaux of record covers (image 5.2, below) illustrate[98]. The ways in which these images represent rurality also vary, from the wild and desolate, to the pastoral, nostalgic. The reader will note the

[98] Although one could also compare the many album covers from North East musicians that are dominantly ‘industrial’, the patchwork above reveals how the music is commercially synonymous with rurality.

absence of signs of modernity; of motor-vehicles and so forth, perhaps suggesting the pre-industrial, pastoral discourses of the folk genre (see chapter 1.2). In Northumberland, notable musicians such as Tickell, Anderson, The High-Level Ranters, Louis Killen, Bob Davenport and The Unthanks have built careers at a national level upon this stage (Broughton *et al.* 1999). Their output has been based, in part at least, upon the Northumbrian repertoire and a promulgated sense of Northumbrian identity[99]. By association, we may also parallel the commodification of folk music with the commodification and consumption of the rural, particularly through touristic activities (Crouch, 2006). This sense of 'Northumbriana' has periodically been used to promote the North East to tourists (Usherwood, 2007). To this theme I shall have continual recourse, exploring the relationships between cultural heritage and 'sense of belonging' and 'place' in rural Northumberland (Stephano & Corsane, 2008).

[99] Kathryn Tickell's *Borderlands* (CD, Black Crow Records, 1986: CROCD210) and *Debatable Lands* (CD, Park Records, 1999: PRKCD50) both reflect the commercial popularity of a 'border mythology'. Some recording artists may express connection with 'place' not only through song lyrics and titles, Long (2013) suggests, but also through album art and titles, liner notes, broadcasts and interviews. However, Revill argues, "the relationships between music and landscape are not nearly as simple and direct as record promoters and CD packaging designers would have us believe" (2012: 231).

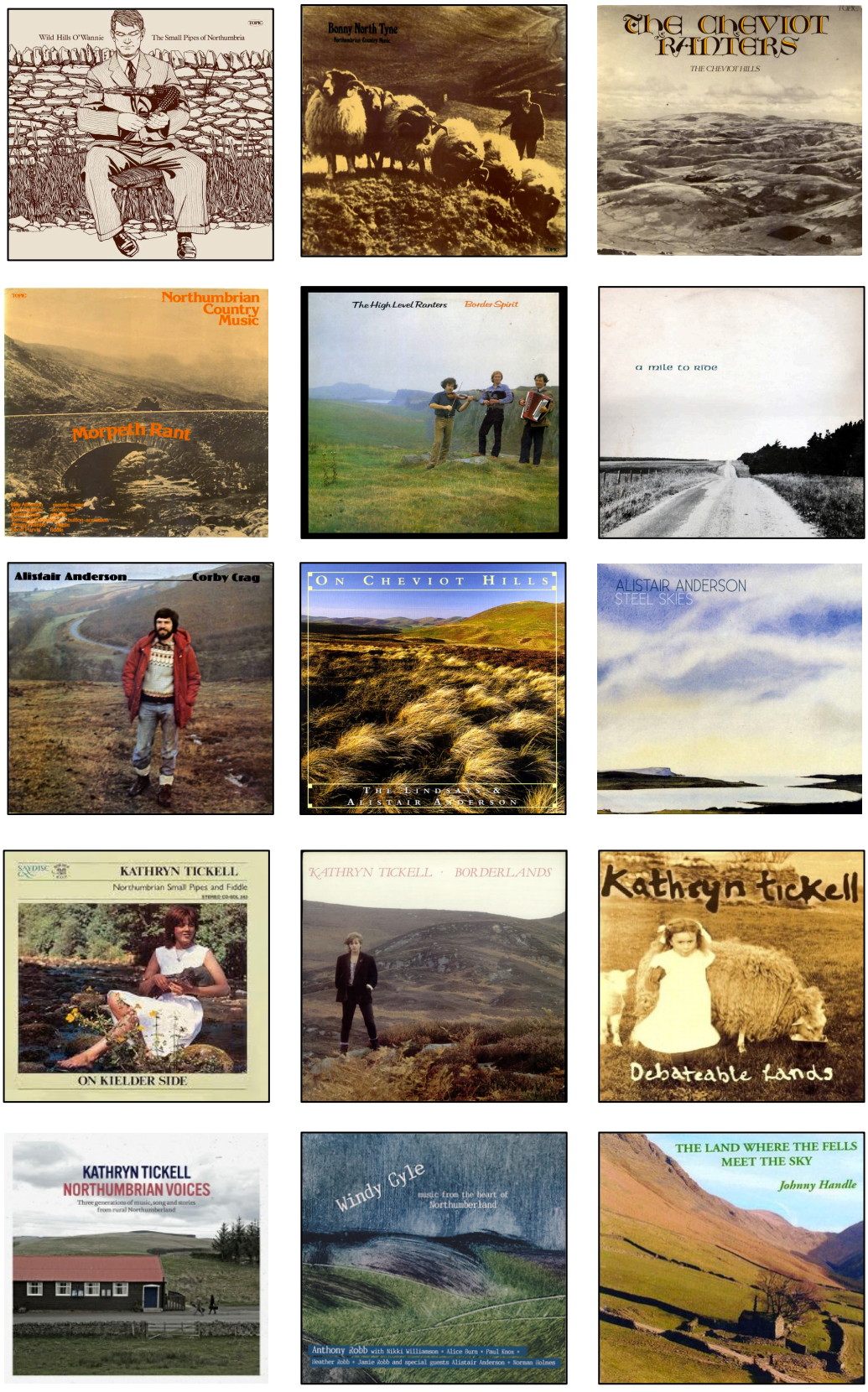

Image 5.2: 'Folk Ruralism' in the Marketing of Northumbrian music (source farneonline.co.uk)

In chapter 4.3, I gave two images of the Tarset village hall; one provided by Kathryn Tickell's album 'Northubmrian Voices' (2013); the other a still from my observational film 'The Long Meadow', (2013). By providing a visual quotation of the album artwork in the film, my main questions was to ask; 'Why are there no cars at the performance?' There may be a simple explanation, yet I am inclinded to suspect vehicles and other signs of modernity, are incompatible with the marketing ideologies of such works. We might then build upon Cresswell's (2004) 'subjective, emotional attachments' to substantiate the ways in which symbolic material is manifest in the construction and iteration of 'place'. In other words, 'place' – like 'community'- is symbolically constructed and as such a profusion of *multiple identities* are at stake within. Speaking expressly of the countryside or the landscape, this may be seen as a symbolically constructed 'rural place' because it can evoke a complex suite of emotions and experiences culturally associated with that location (Anderson 2004a, 2004b; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009; Wood & Smith, 2004). Indeed, Revill (2012) argues that the ambiguity of relations between music and locality, particularly, as we have seen, where instrumental music lacks 'content plane' (Chanan, 1994: 231), mean that they occur from the "highly personal and private, to communal and public". To identify the symbolic building blocks of the countryside is beyond the scope of this study (much valuable groundwork has been done in this respect and is generally held under the banner of the 'rural idyll'). However, it is safe to say much of those symbolic materials are deeply embedded constructions of a 'place' bounded in quasi-historical idealisation (Wright, 1985).

Yet, there are important ways in which representations also impart a character to locality, altering one's psychological perception of it. As Tuan suggests, "the rancher might, for instance, sit on the porch after a hard day's work, rehearse and thereby enhance his awareness of the hill's emotional colouring by retelling its story to a visitor" (1991: 688). So it is that empowerment of tune and, by it's association with 'place' endows both with imaginative significance, it brings them both into being as it were. Thus it is that, in the following

section, I begin to more fully explore how particular landscapes and rural localities are a more powerful draw between representation and place proper.

5.3. Particular landscapes – Rural Localities

In the previous section, I introduced some of the ways a general rurality has been expressed and represented by Northumbrian folk music and the Northumbrian music industry. General terms are also extant in the language by which participants articulate Tarset's material landscape. What these songs, tunes and other representative sources have to offer, then, is a sense of place that is, on the face of it, quite fragile. "The narrative flow" Atkinson (2013: 17) suggests, "allows for little more than a momentary presentation, at most an iteration, of geographical markers". As discussed in chapter 2, Halfacree's (2006) three-fold model draws heavily upon the theories of Jean Baudrillard (1983a, 1983b) in the exchange of signs and significations (i.e. representations of rurality) and their relation to a material referent (i.e. landscape and the rural space). I made reference to such signs in terms of the 'general' in folk music. General landscapes, I argued, function as culturally valuable images, both in terms of lay articulations of rurality, as well as the more formal marketing of Northumbrian music. These usually visual moments often adhere to the latent rural idyllicism of the folk idiom (Atkinson, 2013; Boyes, 1993), as well as to other cultural representations of rurality in the West (Bell, 2006; Cresswell, 2013). Such images of the rural landscape serve to shore up folk music's continuing position as a signifier for rurality, frequently through stylistic conformity with the motifs and phrases common to the idiom (Atkinson, 2013). In so doing, I argued, the general may infer only an abstracted, cultural landscape of rural discourse. It tends, then, to lack place-specific relation. As Buchan (1972) suggests, like many traditional English ballads, these general songs tend to be highly conventionalized, taking place in a 'stylized limbo', rhetorical landscapes not particularized in any detail. Thus

I also suggested that general representations are symptomatic of a continuing detachment of rural representations from the signification, or material location of the rural, becoming increasingly mediated and virtual (Long et al, 2001; Cloke, 2006).

Accordingly, 'place' has frequently been characterized in the literature as fractured, incoherent, discontinuous; as destabilised by globalisation, capital mobility and rural migration patterns (Cresswell, 2004). The performances of coherent communities and places therefore become increasingly futile and reactionary to the loss of an "(idealised) era when places were (supposedly) inhabited by coherent and homogeneous communities" (Massey, 1991 [1997]: 314). An ensuing dismissal of place's potential existence follows (Escobar, 2001; Dirlik, 2000; Casey, 1993; 1996; 1997). The tension highlighted by Massey broadly reflects those inherent ideological aims of folk culture, as I discussed them in chapter 1. Indeed regarding music in this postmodern period, Pickering and Green (1987: 21-2; see also Connell & Gibson, 2003) have argued, similarly to place, that the increasing mobilisation of people, with associated economic and social change, has served to make regional differentiation in music of little relevance[100].

Neither of these postulations – concerning the fragmentation of either rural places or regional music - speaks, however, of the continuing accounts of significant place meaning and identity among lay narratives. Massey (1991; 1997; 2005) also argues that globalisation may actually serve to condense interest in the distinctiveness of locality, and the pursuance of 'sense of belonging' and 'place' (see also Corsane *et al*. 2009). These ideas I have already showed in chapter 4 with regards to the construction of Tarset's

[100] A means to grasp this sundry canon better would be to see the Northumbrian tradition, like Northumbrian culture in general, as something always and continually characterized and developed by 'osmosis', though serving certain ends to remain, in discourse at least, coherent and distinctive (Stephano & Corsane, 2008). Thus, whilst Revill argues for a renewed approach to folk music as a "multi-regional, multi-national, urban-rural hybrid" (2005: 698), the Northumbrian tradition has, as we have seen, always been as such[100].

community boundaries, its identity, and distinctiveness. A conjunction of culture, geography and practice, which, Connell & Gibson (2007: 30) argue, "points to the idealization of a culture, and its musical heritage, seemingly in danger of disintegration, out of ideological (and later commercial) concerns". This notion I illustrated through participant expressions of searching or longing for localized, particular music. This it seems would satisfy a sense of grounding in place, and to fulfill a sense of place identity[101]. Thus, as Escobar (2001) argues, the dismissal of 'place' seems somewhat premature when localised social groups continue to assert and defend their symbolic identities (Cohen, 1985). In rural places, the 'lure of the local' (Lippard, 1997), is pertinent to broader terrains of rural power contestation, including the rural idyll (Short, 2006; Mingay, 1989), social inclusion/exclusion (Milbourne, 2006; Shucksmith, 2012; Sibley, 2006) and the place of 'rural others' (Cloke, 2006b; Cloke & Little, 1997; Halfacree, 1993; Milbourne, 1997; Philo, 1992). The power of this 'lure' I shall illustrate by virtue of the 'particular' in Tarset's folk music and participants' own movements to fill Tarset's apparent lack of traditional folk song. By turning now to what I have termed 'particular landscapes' I show how local detail in Tarset music-making actually serves to shore up a sense of local distinctiveness, remonstrating against a perceived loss or fragmentation of local identity. By the particular we can begin to interpret and ask: What do small local communities value most about their environment, the features of their natural and cultural landscape for which they share communal ownership and responsibility?

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[101] Moreover, regarding rural places (and putatively rural music) in this manner does not account for the coherence, or continuity so integral to folk music discourse. Indeed, it is often the prerogative of folk music (and musicians), to confound such assertions, painting them as overly expansive in the face of regional distinctiveness and historical continuity (see chapter 1.?). Added to which, folk music has a particular tendency to root in local places through reference to specific locations and events, through dialect and regional variation (Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). For these very reasons testament to regional specificity continues in the Northumbrian musical discourse (Murphy, 2007; Feintuch, 1995; 2005; Handle, 1970) and no less in Tarset.

By the ‘particular’, I refer to elements unique to Tarset’s local topography - its geological features, place names and so forth, as well as natural sounds, flora and fauna. In this respect I shall show the interconnection between ‘representation’ and ‘locality’ in Haflacree’s model (2006). To my knowledge David Atkinson (2013) is the only contemporary author to question the possible link between place names and sense of place in traditional balladry – “Such place names offer an obvious point of departure for a consideration of a ballad sense of place” (ibid: 2). I wish now to turn those ideas towards their contemporary manifestations in Tarset. With examples I show how local features are, to use George Revill’s (2012) terms, quoted, imitated and allegorised in Tarset music making. Through particular references to locality, highly selective aspects of the landscape are turned into experiential commodities. In subsection 5.3.1 I explore the representation of particular landscapes in folk tune; in subsection 5.3.2 I turn to folk song. It is by the particular in these forms, I argue, that folk music comes closest to this delineation of ‘place’, through musical representation of rural localities. Place-specific, or particular representations are a potent means of articulating meaningful places and a close association between sign and referent: “Weaving in observable features in the landscape (a tree here, a rock there)” Tuan (1991: 686) suggests, “strengthen a people’s bond to place”. So it is that folk tune and song are significantly enhanced by local distinctiveness and toponymic identification. The particular landscape therefore reflects in part the ‘localities definition’ of Halfacree’s (2006) model, amidst ideas of agrarian productivity, low population density and physical inaccessibility of the first rural (chapter 2.2; Bell, 2007). Representations of locality, however, also sustain more symbolic, socially significant constructions of place; expressing junctures of place and music through figurative sonic geographies (Matless, 2005; Thompson, 1995) and musical pathways in landscape (Finnegan, 1989). Thus, as much as the particular concerns the material of rural space, its representation concerns the construction a more imagined, socially constructed idea of place (Harvey, 1996). I thus explore in this section folk music’s ‘associative function’, through environment and memory, with

distinctive material and imagined places (Leonard, 2005). These ideas I begin to address in the final subsection, 5.3.3. At this intersection, wherein subjective (agential) and objective (material) spaces meet, 'place' is the localized meaning attributed to the encounter (Entrikin, 1991). As Yarwood & Charlton (2009:202) argue then, by such particular representations as are found in folk song lyrics and tune titles, we might gain "an insight into particular visions of rurality, their emotive appeal to certain audiences and how they have, in turn, been used to strengthen particular rural and regional discourses". Thus, as Hudson (2006) and Leonard (2006) have shown, music can engender deep attachments to such material localities. "It is how these elements", the tangible and the intangible, "relate to one another and the meanings attached to them that provide a sense of continuity and identity, a 'spirit of place'" (Corsane *et al.*, 2009: 189). As Sarah suggests, to know the music of a place is to know its identity:

> Mm. I don't know, I think it is, for me, it's part of a sense of identity I think of a place, because to know the songs and the stories and the music is, sort of...for me to give a flavour of what a place is and what a place is about. And it is one of those places that is actually crying out to have music made about it, so that's what's really weird about not finding anything local … But, no, for me it's quite a basic thing I think to want to know what music...what the music of a place is. (I~Sarah)

Paul expresses a sense in which the everyday experience of landscape is normatively inculcated with the particular visual landscape – a landscape, that is, still enveloped by Western aesthetic traditions, though this time with particular reference to the beauty of particular places:

> I mean, if you're a farmer or whatever, or a little old dear that's lived in the middle of nowhere and there's nothing with a city or aeroplanes or whatever and all you know is the babbling brooks of the river in Bellingham, you're going to name it [their composition] after that, or if they don't know anything else other than somewhere so beautiful – you know, the Hebrides Overture, Mendelssohn, because he was inspired by the place. Farmers and folk musicians can be inspired by equally beautiful places. (I~Paul)

It is here that we may begin to see how, as found in the works of Stokes (1994), Leyshon *et al.* (1995; 1998), Bennett (2000; 2001), Bennett and

Peterson (2004), and Grazian (2003; 2004), music may be an interpretive lens through which *spaces* are experienced as *places* (Atkinson, 2013). In part, the particular landscape therefore exemplifies the locality aspect of Halfacree's (2006) model and by the provision of my epistemological stance, a material space. Indeed 'rural localities', in Halfacree's model, I take to be the materiality of physical landscape, and the occupations associated with it. Halfacree characterizes the material aspects of rurality – or the rural locale - as follows:

> The attempt to understand rural space through the locality definition is likely to draw upon the distinctiveness of one or more of the following: agriculture and other primary productive activities, low population density and physical inaccessibility, and consumption behaviour (2006: 47; see also Halfacree, 1993; Moseley, 1984).

All of Halfacree's criteria are present in Tarset's particular landscapes. Consider the participant extract above that references the 'farmer or little old dear' (agriculture), living in the 'middle of nowhere' (low population density; physical inaccessibility) and 'knows nothing else' (consumption behavior). Indeed, Paul suggests that tunes are traditionally named because the consumption behavior of their composers is limited by inaccessibility and local experience. The first manifestation of the particular may be when performers interpret and even alter music according to their own belief systems and worldviews (Leck, 2012): As Johnny commented, "if you're used to living amongst the hills you get an affection for it, it's there all the time" (I~Johnny). Thus, the increasingly intimate nature of the objects at an individual's disposal, the more likely they will 'relate to increasingly intimate areas of their life or refer to more substantial areas of their identity' (Cohen, 1985: 13) and deeper attachments to 'place' (Shelemay, 1996). Emphasis must consistently be placed upon the material landscape itself in relation with its idealized representation. I shall address these ideas firstly through the folk tune.

5.3.1. *The particular landscape in folk tune*

Musical association with place manifests in both song and tune, through the lyrics of the former, in the latter most readily through titular associations but also through musical semantics and the 'imitation' of the sounds of natural world within the composition (Swain, 1996; Revill, 2012; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). These can likewise 'anchor' musical expression in 'place'. An initial observation is that the inclusions of particular locations in tune titles are often associated with prominent, or archetypal features of landscape, such as the 'babbling brooks of Bellingham' (as Paul suggested above) or:

> I guess Rothbury Hills or Whittingham Green Lane, Windy Gyle, they're all spectacular in their own individual way and to each individual person it means a different thing. Naturally, I think you'd name a tune after one of them … (I~Paul)

Perhaps in the traditional and modern anchoring of song and tune in specific, often 'iconic' places, we are actually observing a number of processes at work. It may be that, like the inclusion of the general landscape in song, the naming of tunes after particular 'places' may be something of a gesture to the folk idiom (Atkinson, 2013; Murphy, 2007; Roud & Bishop, 2012). Such instances, as I have outlined above, can also serve to acculturate a 'sense of belonging', or at the very least, assist in its pursuit. Furthermore, anchoring in place can be a form of musical diarizing. Johnny offers an example of this in his own composition:

> But you might write a one called *Crag Lough*, which is another slow air … and you get the two aspects of it, you get the beauty of the Lough when you see it, from a distance, and then because the crags are north facing, and therefore often in shadow, you get a spooky bit, a dark feeling, so when you write a tune like that you've got to try and get the two aspects of it. (I~Johnny)

Crag Lough is a well-known landmark in Northumberland (though not Tarset) and features prominently in Northumberland National Park's publicity material. Situated at one of the most dramatic points on Hadrian's Roman Wall, the Lough (lake) sits beneath the high crags with the wall atop, and these

geological elements the Johnny attempts to 'try and get', or we might say, *imitate*, in his composition[102]. If "the description of the landscape is based upon the visualization of geographic features and the representation of their attributes" (Papadimitriou *et al.*, 2009), so too can tunes quote and imitate landscape. As such, many aspects of landscape have been, to use Revill's (2012) formula, *imitated*, *quoted* or *allegorised* in participant repertoires and own musical compositions. Tune titles may represent something of "the embodiment of a developmental or historical process … rooted in the context of human dwelling in the world" (Ingold, 1993: 170). Crag Lough affirms a notion of a personal, experiential response to landscape in his musical activities: The process is apprehended by a musical representation of the world that the observer encounters through his bodily senses and movement. The particular therefore shows the relationship between the locality and lived experience aspects of rural space and a sense of the importance of 'being-there' that may even be relived through particular representations:

> But the geology has something to do with it, the loneliness … the fells have got an atmosphere. If you look at those photograph books of the Cheviots … you don't have to sit for very long before you begin to absorb the atmosphere, if you've been up there and you know what it's like. (I~Johnny)

In this way, 'Crag Lough', or any of the compositions we have already encountered, analogizes my own qualitative, literary descriptions, and, as in the extract above, photographic representations. That is, to suggest a conversion of space into 'place', private and fleeting and to intimate the personal nature of the exercise which Johnny iterates:

> So in a way, it's just like a painter describing something, and the way a painter, or photographer or anybody, does that, then your own personality, your own relationship with it comes out. (I~Johnny)

Interestingly, this is also conveyed through the metaphor of not only the practice of a painter or photographer, but also the 'poet':

[102] 'Crag Lough' features on Johnny's album '*Alang the Roman Waal*' (CD, 2003, CAR010) join in a set with 'The Back Road'.

> … whereas when they used landmarks as tunes, the names of hills and valleys, well that's been done by poets as well as tune writers, for years and years, and they often get a bit lyrical … the poet doesn't tend to think of that always, as something he's giving out to other people, he's often writing for himself, in the language that he believes to be lyrical and respectful. (I~Johnny)

The idea of music as imitation and allegory has also been instigated by participants in a kind of commentary upon its inadequacies. Paul for instance, a graduate of Newcastle University's Folk and Traditional music degree programme and now a professional folk educator provides a more cynical view of the potential for folk music to be representational of rurality:

> Yes, I mean, I took the piss a little in my final recital I played. I wrote a set of tunes, four tunes I think it was, a slow air, a hornpipe, syncopated tune and a reel and I called it 'the North Sea Suite' … I said to the audience 'we're going to go all the way from Bamburgh all the way down to the North Shields fish market and you will hear the rolling North sea against blah, blah, blah and then the bustling fish market. (I~Paul)

> I had not a clue what I was writing when I wrote the tunes, it was just to fill time, and then I gave it the most corny title ever just to capture peoples' imaginations. I don't know, I guess it can get terribly cheesy when you start trying to conjure images the tune's been written or named after. (I~Paul)

In this instance, the Paul deliberately invokes images of 'place' in the title and description of his compositions; though he does not consciously sense any allegorical or representational function within the music itself. Indeed, they seem to deliberately inverse the 'conventional' association between folk music and place, denying any relationship is possible. More expressly, the North Sea Suite more accurately imitates the kind of use of place in classical music, such as Mendelsohn's Hebrides Overture, to which Paul earlier referred. It is as though the purely musical cannot alone rise to the full potential of its power, "words must also be used" (Tuan, 1991: 691). The parallel between the occularcentric nature of experiencing landscape and the acoustic of music make an interesting juxtaposition, particularly in tunes, which have only their titles to make explicit reference to places. With regards 'Crag Lough', we may therefore begin to imagine the difficult and abstracted ways in which, tunes –

music with only a titular reference to landscape – are representations of rurality too. As Chanan (1994) describes instrumental music, such as 'Crag Lough' and the 'North Sea Suite' are a 'semiotic system without a content plane'. That is, that musical experience is not necessarily reducible to language: "The essence of music is nonverbal and cannot be conceived as a product of word-based ideological construction" (Blacking, 1992: 305; Feintuch, 1995). This why Johnny analogizes his music making to other, more visual forms of representation, those of the painter, photographer or poet. The conflict between the visual nature of the landscape, and the aural representation in music seems to hold apart the practices and meanings of musical production, "in a state of flux and indeterminacy by the multiple and contingent qualities of musical meaning" (Revill, 2012: 232). As an imitation, quotation or allegory of the rural, this cuts to the heart of the problematic of a music that purports to represent some reality external to its self. Perhaps a better understanding would be to suggest that the visible landscape has certain potentials, and it, according to Jóhannesdóttir "calls for ideas and imaginations, stories and events; it calls for action" (2010: 115). Both Paul and Johnny situate themselves within the 'traditional' practice of naming tunes after 'landmarks'. Their compositions illustrate Yarwood & Charlton's assertion (2009) that the performative role local detail may mean audience and musician experience embodied emotions and ideals in attachment to 'place'. Again, this tends to occur through dwelling in landscape. In this way we might read the following, from Gwennie, a Northumbrian pipes player, where she describes her composition, 'The Curlew's Return':

> There is one tune that I've composed and that was a tune that came to me up on the fell, here, and there's something about at the end of winter and you're waiting for the Curlews to return. When they come back onto the fell here you can expect to hear the sound any time from about mid-March. And the kitchen door's often open and when you hear the first Curlew breaking song on the fell, your really know that the spell of winter is broken. And I wrote a tune about the Curlews' return, which sort of echoes the sounds of the Curlews on the fells. (I~Gwennie)

It may be that 'Crag Lough' is more an abstraction of visual, rather than representation of the pictorial. For Curlew's Return, however, Gwennie

actually attempts to mimic, or imitate the Curlew's call, as she hears it on the fell, through her instrument. Of course the Curlew is not unique to Tarset, but it seems to provide something important to the landscape's 'sonic geography', and thus the seasonal make-up of place. The event of the Curlews' return is deeply inculcated in the passing of the seasons on the fells, a part of the lived experience of rural life, and thus becomes symbolic of the rural. Indeed, it becomes both an imitation and an allegory for 'place', valorized somewhat, by its characteristic semblances with the 'tradition'. Landscape is temporal, and words and music can mimic that temporality. In all of this musical production is both an inculcation of the environment external to the psyche, and an emotional response to that stimulus where a sensual apprehension of the textures of turf and hay, the smell and sounds of beast and wildlife imbibe a corporeal manner of being. Crang (1998:108) notes that creative, cultural expressions can be vehicles for conveying a certain 'spirit of place' for various groups of individuals by writing:

> ...people experience something beyond the physical or sensory properties of places and can feel an attachment to a 'spirit of place'. If the meaning itself extends beyond the visible, beyond the evident into realms of emotion and feeling then one answer may be turning to literature or the arts as being ways people can express these meanings.

Various authors have reported music as an emotional and expressive outlet (Adderley, *et al.*, 2003; Campbell, *et al.*, 2007; Hylton, 1981). Those meanings, represented in music, however, are tied to the material 'doings' within the rural space.

Natural 'sounds' – as well as flora and fauna – are clearly an integral component of landscape, and one often subjugated in theory by the dominance of the visual (Howard, 2011). For the time being then, I wish to illustrate further how the sonic elements of material locale are *imitated* in music making. The notion of imitation of natural sounds appears to be more inclined towards musicality than lyricism, which as we shall see, acts largely as a quotation of landscape. Revill suggests that the relationship between music and the materiality of the rural landscape "seems to echo the perceived

naturalness of the landscape itself" (2012: 243). Indeed, there are repeating occurrences in which musical sounds are likened by participants to the sounds of the natural environment. Because it entails physical immersion, these pieces draw upon tactile, auditory and olfactory senses in an engagement with space and materiality. It is in this sense that the sonic geographies of landscape are metaphorically 'imitated' and 'quoted' within folk music and become representative of place in their telling. For instance, Gwennie told me the following story of an early experience of piping:

> Tommy Breckons was always known to be a very fierce critic of the pipes and he had very, very strong ideas, and he was passionate about the pipes, but he had very strong views about how they should be played and what constituted *proper* playing style … One time on the Bellingham Show playing field, I think, I can't remember if I was playing in the competitions then, it was quite a long time ago. I hadn't been playing *that* long, but I was just sitting at the back of a tent somewhere, I wasn't in the main piping tent, I think I might have been having a little run-through or something like that and he was walking past and he spotted me playing and he came straight up to me with a very intent expression on his face and he said 'Can you play 'the Bonny North Tyne'?' I knew who it was and I thought 'Oh no! Here we go!' And when Tommy Breckons fixes you with a beady eye and says can you play the Bonny North Tyne, there's no way you don't do it. So I played the tune and afterwards he fixed me with his beady eye and he said, "Now then, do you know why I asked you to play that tune?" … He just said: "The reason I asked you to play that was because the man who wrote it used to play it in my house", and I'll say this as clearly as I can: "[in dialect] It captures the sound of the water, as it flows over the stones". (I~Gwennie)

As Shelemay (1996) suggests, then, musical sounds are not value-neutral, rather they are imbibed with various cultural and emotional meanings (Anderson 2004a, 2004b; Wood & Smith, 2004). The story weaves seamlessly together the elements I shall continue to outline: of personal narrative, the importance of the shepherds, quotation, imitation and allegory; of landscape, 'place' and identity. These themes I shall continue through looking now at song. Songs can also provide a much more tangible relationship between folk music and particular places.

5.3.2. *The particular landscape in folk song*

In the previous subsection, I explored some ways particular places have been inculcated in participant tune compositions. This I showed occurring through titular associations, and tentatively through musical semantics; the description of particular places and events through the musical form. The means of representation I termed as the quotation, imitation and meaningful allegory of Tarset's particular places. Songs too may imitate, quote and allegorize the particular features of the landscape and it is to these I now turn. Indeed songs, though they represent the same particular landscapes, are more readily interpretable to the ethnographer, and the exchange of rural images is often in semiotic form (Perkins, 2006). This is especially the case in song lyrics, which, unlike tunes, have an openly interpretable semantic component (Chanan, 1994; Swain, 1996). Such emphasis upon language as the constructive element of meaning in social life has brought its study, especially through 'discourse', to the fore in very many humanistic disciplines over the last three decades (Hughes & Sharrock, Ed. 1997). According to Flick (2008), "the eventualities of the social processes involved have an influence on what will survive as a valid or useful explanation" (Flick, 2008: 71) and are interdependent of any internal validity of the object in account. Rather, the longevity of a particular knowledge formation rests upon the vicissitudes of social exchange (Gergen, 1994). Thus, if "language is the prominent medium of the conduct of social life" (Hughes & Sharrock, 1997: 162) then the analytical value of language lies in the role it plays in social practice. In the construction of social realities "language derives its significance in human affairs from the way in which it functions within patterns of relationship…To appraise existing forms of discourse is to evaluate patterns of cultural life…" (Gergen, 1994: 50, in Flick, 2008). Thus it is by words – of songs and conversation - that 'places' are imaginatively brought into 'being' (Tuan, 1991). Many folk songs and ballads reference topology and environment, evoking

unequivocally specific locations (Atkinson, 2013). As David Hillery (2005:5) suggests:

> We might look, for example, for topographical references in the songs at the same time recognising that the vernacular singer is often adept at giving deeper meaning and interest to a song by changing, personalising and localising the words in some, perhaps minor way.

Perhaps the first connection between folk music and place is through song lyrics therefore. Lyrics, combined with melody, become a very particular representation of the rural (Long, 2013; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009)[103]. "Nothing", Connell and Gibson concur, "should more closely signify the relationship between music, place and identity than the words of songs, especially where performers and audiences have broadly similar interpretations" (2007: 71). These ideas I wish to continue with reference to Burdonside, the McCracken's farm in Tarset.

[103] It is through the 'content analysis' of song lyrics too, that Frith suggests sociologists have treated music (1989) Conducting analysis of song lyrics is cannot be performed without certain considerations. Simon Frith (1989) provides a précis of approaches sociologists have used to present song lyrics as representative of the social mores of a given period. This *theory of lyrical realism*, as Frith puts it, "means asserting a direct relationship between a lyric and the social or emotional condition it describes and represents" (1989: 82). In this manner, folk song studies have assumed that folk song lyrics are an historical record of 'popular consciousness' (Roy Palmer) representing "… the form through which the common people express their fantasies, their codes, their aspirations" (Lloyd:). However, as Frith makes clear … (Bit more here).

Image 5.3: In the kitchen at Burdonside, winter 2013

Burdonside is comfortably settled in its somewhat ramshackle appearance. Maureen keeps the front garden tidy, and the living room is reserved for special occasions, or more probably for protection from the dirt, dog hair, wool that makes a daily entry through the front door. The little yard is cluttered with pallets, machinery, and nettles; corrugated iron, wire and fence posts: Chattered over continually by the sparrows and swallows, which loop to and fro above your head. Like many upland farms, Burdonside is part of an essentially pastoral economy, still distinct in method and tradition from the intensive, capitalized units of the lower regions. I am reminded of Sam Richards' comments on the farmyard of Dartmoor singer/farmer, Dick French:

> Its basic structure had been shaped many years ago yet it was not resistant to new influences … no sentiment, no attachment to the outsider's pretty romances of the way life should be lived. And the same was true of the musical repertoire and manner of presentation. What did it matter if someone in London had dreamed up some theory about vocal style, even if it had been based on painstaking historical and ethnographic research? Like the old stone wall, if it didn't do the job in the present context it could go to hell. A few breezeblocks would do just as well (1992: 130).

During lambing time in early 2013, I rode with David on the back of a quad-bike to a field just on the other side of the burn. Four times a day David would go 'looking'; walking all of the in-by fields to look for new births, and to bring home any families which appeared to be struggling. With keen eyes, he walked the field in a kind of random pattern, though with intent, scanning for lambs; knowing where he had previously seen ewes showing signs of labour; knowing where in patches of rushes or hollows the lambs might be hiding. 'Corbies' circled overhead. I had heard that the crows at this time of year are liable to peck at the eyes of newborn lambs. Back in the kitchen I asked David if he knew the border ballad, 'the Twa Corbies'. He sang it to me with a growling conviction in his voice, (so much so that I used it in the Long Meadow as a soundtrack to the bleakness of the winter months). 'The interesting thing about that one' he said, 'is how the melody would rise and fall like the crows in flight' (RD~David). Here is a sense in which the elements of the physical landscape become imbibed with deeper *allegorical* meanings by virtue of their musical imitation. This phenomenological sense of landscape's aural and topographical qualities, I wish to show as inculcated in the performance of songs. This is in the ways that the perceived 'naturalness' of environment can be *imitated* and *quoted* within musical form (Revill, 2012). For David, the ballad actually imitates the flight patterns of the crows.

Yet David's own lyrical compositions more heavily involve semantic descriptions of Tarset's particular landscape. As we saw in the previous section, with reference to 'Yet! Yet! Tarset, Tarret', these songs may often draw as much upon the culturally valuable general terms as rivers, trees and hills, yet combine them with direct references to Tarset itself, as in 'Walk with me…'. Yarwood & Charlton (2009) have explored relationships such as these between composition and locality. Their study of folk duo 'Show of Hands', based the South West of England, shows the band's emphasis on local detail in topography and the place names of Cornwall. This 'fixing' of songs geographically serves to "reinforce the attachment to the Southwest, so that both residents and non-residents may identify, even if briefly and temporarily, with distinctive places and their associations" (2009: 8). David Hillary (2005)

and David Atkinson (2013) have argued similarly that vernacular singers may incorporate topographical references into their music, imbibing performances with deep personal meaning. Just as the wording of 'traditional' songs may be altered in an expression of localism, and equally the style of tune playing can be localised, particularly by a local instrument such as the Northumbrian small-pipes, so new compositions often respond to 'locality' in a way similar to the received canon of 'traditional' material. In terms of songs, they are a mediated rurality, by virtue of their imagery, local anchoring and so on, *and* the product of an already culturally mediated rurality (as in the general landscape). Through mediation of Culture, in the third instance then, the combination of these themes may suggest the Yet! Yet!'s becoming an *allegory* of Tarset itself; its landscape, history and identity – the 'borderland home' – united by David's lived experience of both. Roseman has suggested songs "mark the natural and social landscape of the people, naming it, locating it, in time and place, in history" (1991: 175). Implicit in this is the role of individual agency on the part of the composer (Connell & Gibson, 2007). In this way, compositions may be associated with particular geographic locations, and for their authors represent a particular response to, and construction of, 'place'.

Image 5.4: Looking South from Belling Rigg

This anchoring in locality extends into many aspects of David's music, and he is receptive to any music that may perform this function. On one of my days at Burdonside I gave to David two pieces of literature, which I had discovered during my research. The first was a 19th century song written by James Armstrong of Ridsdale, entitled 'The Tarsettearian Fox'. The song recounts the incidents of a foxhunt in the Tarset area on the 20th March 1875. 'The Tarset men' are joined in the chase at Donkleywood by 'The Tyne Lads'; when the fox goes to ground, the two parties come to blows over who is the rightful victor of the quarry[104]. After David had explained to me the narrative, and some of the heavy dialect used, he set about locating the events in relation to Burdonside. In one particular stanza, for instance, the hunt travels over 'the Belling's shaggy brow' (1879: 129). Belling Rigg is a hill behind Burdonside (see map 1.2 and image 5.4, above), well known to me since I had travelled over it with David in the tractor when feeding the sheep on 'the hill' on a number of occasions

> David and my job for the afternoon was to take a bale of silage out to the sheep on the top of the fell. I clambered into the back of the tractor, with my camera gear, and we set off on the long, bumpy drive; first along the lane back past Jan's house and up past the lime kilns. There we turned out onto the fell and into a vast rough blanket of snowy moor. The sheep came running to David's calls – he could see them way off in the distance making their way towards the sound of the tractor, whereas I could only see the white expanse. It was bitterly cold and spectacularly wild and beautiful. They have 15 Exmoor ponies up there and it was fun to see the herd come bobbing over the hill as we rumbled along, silhouetted against the bright winter sun. I managed to take some good footage – I hope. (RD~David)

Thus, there was sense of excitement as we found some connection between Burdonside and its past; we wondered if one of the 'Tarset Men' had been a previous Burdonside tenant? Folk song here seems to enable a contraction of time; time is laid out, through narrative, as if it were space. The school of

[104] The song is from Armstrong's book of collected poems, songs and recollections – particularly of hunting and fishing - in the North Tyne and Redesdale valleys ('Wanny Blossoms', 1879). In the commotion, the fox escapes once more: "But frae the rush he sav'd his brush/ And hol'd in yonder rocks/ An' hid his nose frae frien's and foes/ That Tarsettearian fox'.

landscape studies typified by William Hoskins' '*The Making of the English Landscape'* (1955), saw landscape in such a manner, as an historical artefact to be 'read' (Cresswell, 2003; Howard, 2011). By the 'Tarsettearian Fox', David and I could figuratively *read* the narrative in the physical landscape, co-constructing a kind of 'spatial history' (Cook, 1987). Generally, the ballad stems from a period of English history dubbed the 'poaching wars', which stemmed from the experience of land enclosure that took place across rural England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and did much to shape the subsequent social as well as geographical landscape of the country (Atkinson, 2013: 4):

> Here, then, a single toponym is effectively imparting […] a sense of place that is not only local but also highly resonant for England as a whole

Landscape is therefore pertinent to studies of the social construction of music and 'place' as a vehicle for the attribution of symbolic and socio-cultural meaning (Hirsch, 1995). As Cosgrove suggests, "imagination is the capacity to fashion images that have not previously existed in the material world of their maker" (2003: 253). The significance was undoubtedly associated with our both knowing the landscape described and depicted: Landscape and representation were embodied in personal experience and imagination (see Foster, 1998; Wylie, 2002b).

The excitement at finding a geographically rooted connection with the past is also shared by Anne, who told me of finding a tune named after her grandfather's farm:

> … and actually I've just found a tune, I haven't learned it yet, it's called the Bewshaugh Hornpipe, and the Hedleys, my grandfather's a Hedley, the Hedleys farmed at Bewshaugh for donkeys' years. It was a farm that was owned by the Duke of Northumberland, and then it was sold years and years ago to the Forestry Commission, and now it's under the water. I've just recently found the dots. Bewshaugh Hornpipe, I said, I didn't know it existed, so I'm quite excited about that. (I~Anne)

Within the material space of landscape, meaningful places are delineated through music making. In this vein, 'place' is seen as a geographical 'location'

or ‘locality’ (Agnew, 1987) in terms of its material elements – its geology, geographical isolation, and rural occupations – and a constructed/ agential space. Thus ‘places’ and the ‘rural space’ are imagined into being (Anderson, 1983) relationally to the material, structural elements of socially significant ‘locality’; the process is also socially constructive (see chapter 2.1.2). This is because symbols of rurality have social inference, their ambiguity signifies multiplicities of interpretation but also sociality in the perceived unity between those interpretations. The premise rests on the fundamental idea that ‘places’ - in terms of the abstract or imagined ‘sense of place’ discussed above and in which I am interested – represent a myriad of ‘meanings’ and that these meanings are continually socially constructed by actors. Thus, Harvey (1996:261) asks

> Place, in whatever guise, is like space and time, a social construct…The only interesting question that can then be asked is; by what social process(es) is place constructed? (Harvey, 1996:261)

The second piece I gave David that day was the poem ‘Sundaysight’ by Hexham poet, Wilfred Wilson Gibson (1878-1962)[105]. In this David took particular interest. Sundaysight, as mentioned above in my field-diary extract, is the farm across the valley from Burdonside, where the McCracken’s also have sheep; Blackmoor Skirt is the large hill behind (see map 1.2 and image 5.5, below).

[105] From the collection ‘Hill-Tracks’ (1918: 56).

Image 5.5: Towards Sundaysight and Blackmoor Skirt

By Seven Pikes to Blackmoor Skirt
And so to Sundaysight
Is a rough road for travelling
To him who walks by night.

In rain or snow for seven years
Each night he took the track,
That he might see a window-light,
And ere the dawn walked back.

By stars or moon to Sundaysight
He came to ease his mind
By gazing on a glowing pane
And the shadow on the blind.

He never spoke to her by day
Who could not be his wife
And naught she ever knew of him,
Who loved her more than life.

Twixt Sundaysight & Seven Pikes
A man may come to hurt;
And with a broken neck he lay
One dawn on Blackmoor Skirt.

By Seven Pikes to Blackmoor Skirt
And so to Sundaysight
Is a rough road for travelling,
But ghosts can travel light.
(W.W.Gibson, 1918: 56)
(RD~David)

This was on a July afternoon in the summer of 2013. David was exhausted from days of clipping, doing all the work himself (as most Tarset hill-men tend to do (Simmons, 2005)). After a few minutes looking preoccupied, David began to sing the poem. Maureen stroked his head and said, "that's 'lonely Curlew's call' [referring to the tune of another song of his] … Its all getting to you – the clipping" (RD). Because the day was so brilliantly sunny, I decided to go for a walk, leaving David sitting in his chair in the kitchen. Immediately as I returned to Burdonside, just an hour or so later, David, still sat by the range, sang to me a new song, 'Sundaysight'. He had learned the poem by heart and set it to a tune. We discussed his interpretation, why he had given it an 'up-beat' feel. (Maureen had earlier, in her typical way said 'there were too many gloomy songs'). I suspect Wilson-Gibson was interested in traditional music and the poem suits the traditional ballad themes of unrequited love, landscape, and the supernatural (Reeves, 1972).

> The problem with 'tradition', in this sense, is that it removes all human agency from the process of music making, a notion a odds with the entire folk idiom and indeed, with all that I have perceived in Tarset. The question becomes one of ever decreasing circles: 'Sundaysight' is the farm across the valley from Burdonside, the McCracken's keep sheep there – I have been there in the snow and in the sun. Indeed, only if it were called 'Burdonside' could it be any nearer geographically. Wilfred Wilson Gibson was a Chemist's son from Hexham. I knew it was the same Sundaysight because it lists Blackmoor Skirt, the high hill behind the farm that I have climbed. On a geographical basis, it could not be more appropriate. The next question as to whether it may become a part of the tradition is, really, whether David is qualified to make it so?
>
> Geographical locations are common names for tunes. From the North Tyne there aren't many; the Lads of the North Tyne, Bonny North Tyne, Bellingham boat, Hesleyside, Redesdale Hornpipe, Wannies. In my film I have added some of these to the soundtrack as much as to illustrate their disassociation with 'place' as association. On the opening scene Chris plays Border Spirit, On the Haymaking scene 'The Redesdale hornpipe'. …
>
> Maureen was interested in the poem too. Another morose one she said. Both wondered where the seven pikes were? After singing a verse or two, Maureen stroked David's head kindly and said

> perhaps it was all getting too much for him (the clipping), 'that's the same as 'lonely curlew calls … (RD~David)

Like many traditional ballads, action and narrative takes foremost position in this song-like poem, its structure is highly reminiscent of traditional balladry, yet the narrative does not occur in 'stylized limbo' (Buchan, 1972; Richmond, 1946) rather it is lent realism by its localized setting. Perhaps all the more so for David and I, who had travelled that very same 'rough road' in the course of David's farming activities. Moreover, like many of the border ballads, 'Sundaysight' is topographically anchored in place. Its localized place-naming, what Atkinson (2013) calls a 'toponymic' function, is a resonant representation of place and evocative of a sense of that place.

Thus, whilst David's repertoire of traditional songs includes many from beyond Tarset's ostensible boundary, though staying within 'region', incorporating Tyneside and Border songs, his own compositions tend to be based in the Tarset locale. Casting a 'linguistic net', to use Tuan's (1991) emphasis upon language as the constructing factor in place, the songs use names and words to differentiate 'space' and so construct 'place'. In this sense, David's lyrics become evocative of what Gibson and Connell (2007) describe as 'lyrical places', or places 'mapped' by musicians (Long, 2013). The idea of the 'lyrical place' or cartography is none more so apparent than in David's composition, 'walk with me …'[106]. With this song, 'that Mike [Tickell] very kindly calls the 'anthem of the North Tyne' (David), we might see a rather striking parallel with Roseman's study of the Teimar peoples of the Malaysian rainforest in which,

[106] Interestingly, the refrain 'banks of the bonny North Tyne' may be considered a 'lyrical floater' (well known folk songs with reminiscent refrains include 'The Bonnie Banks O' Loch Lomond; 'The Banks of the Sweet Dundee'; 'The Banks of Green Willow'). There is a traditional tune known locally as 'Lads of the North Tyne'. As to the wording of the phrase itself, there is a poem by William Turnbull of Bellingham, entitled 'The Bonny North Tyne', published in his '*Recollections of an Otter Hunte*r*'* (Jarrow-on-Tyne, 1896). The poem has the refrain 'By the streams of the river, the bonny North Tyne'. There is also a waltz 'Bonny North Tyne' composed by piccolo player Billy Balantine of Simonburn, near Wark on the North Tyne. That tune became the title track on the Topic compilation '*Bonny North Tyne: Northumbrian Country Music*' (LP, 1974: 12TS239); in this instance played by Joe Hutton on the smallpipes in a set with the 'Redesdale hornpipe'.

she suggests, they "sing their maps: theoretically, in their epistemology of song composition and performance; melodically, in contours of pitch and phrasing; textually, in place names weighted with memory" (1998: 106).

In this sense, we may see David's songwriting as a desire to 'embed' his music in a particular construction of 'place' (Connell & Gibson, 2007). By so doing, the invocation of landscape's places is also to endow them with vibrant meaning – to 'convert', in Yi-Fu Tuan's words "mere objects 'out-there' into real presences" (1991: 686). David's songwriting, fixed spatially and imaginatively in the Tarset locale, is a reflection on the lack of traditional 'material' through which to embody an imaginative rurality. Thus, one might say David has *carte blanche* with which to endow 'place' with significance – "the creative power to call something into being, to render invisible visible, to impart a certain character to things" (Tuan, 1991: 688). As I suggest with the 'Tarsettearian Fox', it might be salient to regard David's songs as a kind of 'spatial history' – a 'history of 'the spatial forms and fantasies through which a culture declares its presence' (Cook, 1987: xxii in Hirsch, 1995: 3)[107]. Past events are made present in the liminal moments of performance, the 'here and now-ness' of music making (Morton, 2005). Defying globalism, this 'lyrical place' is differentiated by its localism, and it is historically rooted; indeed, like the community, it is marked by rootedness and boundedness (Cresswell, 2013). It is, to use Doreen Massey's term, a 'reactionary place', based upon clear boundaries, roots and a dominating sense of singular identity (1993; 1997). This performance "can be seen as a production that stitches together an intertextual landscape by means of performances even though in regulated and controlled spaces and actions, which are neither static nor just visual but involve diverse sensory encounters". From his position as a farmer, David works out the tension between what is known about a particular rurality and what is unknown or hidden from other residents, seeking, thereby, to create

[107] Attention to the knowledge of landscape through embodied experience has received some attention (see Foster, 1998; Wylie, 2002b); none, to my knowledge however, have attended to the historicity and spatiality of that experience through folk music.

an exciting representation of place. Again this, as I showed in chapter 4, and as Anthony Cohen (1985) proposes, reflects the boundary making or maintaining process; the relational idea that place is enacted by the attribution of boundaries (political, administrative, geographical, or *symbolic*) in order for its members to express a distinction between themselves and other putative social groupings. The signifier and sign, to again use a Halfacree's (1993) notions, are perhaps in closer proximity to their referential place so as to contest any hypothetical erosion of local distinctiveness.

5.3.3. *Authentic Landscapes / Associative functions*

In the analysis of the structures and spaces in which communal musicking happens in Tarset which I presented in chapter 4, I argued that particular settings may attain an authenticity and status as stages for folk musical performance. In a similar vein, I wish to show here how particular places can be authentically associated with particular representations. As we have also seen, the geological and topographical aspects of the rural – what Halfacree (2006) describes as 'rural space as material' - play a significant role in both the composition and consumption of music within the folk idiom, acting as signifiers of locality and anchoring music within a known locality such that it can reflect personal experiences of 'place'. Folk music, as a representation of the rural, can perform an important function in constructing and instigating attachment to 'place' (Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). Part of this is music's mnemonic function as a rhetorical 'receptacle' for memories and imaginings of 'place', indeed, as imitations and quotations of the physical environment, which take on allegorical and metaphorical significance. As Johnny claims: '[Music] makes you remember the place, or the time which you associate with that place' (I~Johnny). In all of this, a *genius loci* or distinctive 'sense of place' can be detected among respondents views of landscape and music, as the following extracts from Sarah and Anne also illustrate:

> You talk to people about, it sounds trite, but having a spiritual home but you do get that situation with certain places where you feel a really deep rooted connection with it. Maybe it's just me but that's what I feel about this place and therefore from that point of view I find it difficult to imagine that I would be the only one that would feel that deep rooted sense of place and tends to be when you get people that write. Which I suppose is what David's doing. But it's difficult to describe and it does sound trite when you say oh it's my spiritual home, but it sort of is. (I~Sarah)

> My son, Martin, has two kids. Patrick is 12 and Emily is 10, and she's been learning about the reiver families at school as well, and she is absolutely fascinated that she is part of this heritage. Well, she'll be learning from school but she'll be learning from her dad as well just how important it is to be actually rooted firmly in one area. I don't mean to say that they're going to be in this area forever. Obviously they'll travel abroad and probably work abroad, but I think it's important to know where you are and where you're from … (I~Anne)

Anne ventures a sense of her own life narrative imbibed with musical practices, and her relearning of local tunes: "It keeps me alive", she says, "It's a reason to be up and dressed and be involved and to practise the tunes, and the tunes that Nathan has started so far are tunes that I knew donkeys' years ago, but I haven't played them for years, Johnny. They're in my head but they're not in my fingers so I'm sort of relearning and reliving stuff that I knew years and years ago" (I~Anne). Similarly, returning again to Gwennie's memory playing 'The Bonny North Tyne' to piper Tommy Breckons at the Bellingham Show. "It captures the sound of the water", he told her, "as it flows over the stones". The anecdote naturally holds strong significance for Gwennie:

> I've always remembered the look in his eye as he said that, he had a real twinkle and all of his memory was very much alive in that moment and I always remember that when I play the tune now. The sort of bubbling sense of the water and the sound of the tune: That was a really lovely moment. (I~Gwennie)

However, beyond the physical features of landscape, it is the more abstracted nature in which landscape can assist in the attachment to 'place' and meaning making. This approach to rurality, identified by Halfacree (2006) as the ideation of 'place' reflexively by social actors, is characterized as a rhetorical device for the attachment of 'meanings' in many imaginings of the rural

(Murdock & Pratt, 1993). It is in this light that we may again appropriate George Revill's notions of *imitation*, *quotation* and *allegory* as inculcated in musical/pastoral intersection (2012:233). *Meaning* may manifest amid actions and interactions with others and through historical narratives. Landscape thereby becomes a socially constructed place by acting as a *mnemonic* for recalling past-events. It is at this point too that we may return again to notions of the media idyll countered in section 5.1 of this chapter. If general representations are in some way also outcrops of western aestheticism, and of the production of rurality in the discourses of the media, it is also the case, as Morley and Robins (1995: 90) argue that place specific television and film productions are the materials through which we construct our 'memory banks'. This is also evident in filmic productions of the rural (Mitman, 1999). Keeling has argued, with regards to popular music, how the production and consumption of music always engages with landscape "in ways that are reflected in the music and in our memories" (2011: 113). Indeed, Howard (2011) argues that landscape and 'places' can look remarkably similar, both being spatial containers for works and memories. This 'associative function', to which I have already made reference in the preceding analysis, is, I argue, an important element of representations of the rural. Is it the case then, that folk music, as a media form, also provides memory banks for the past and present experience of landscape? Particularly with the words to songs, Long argues (2013: 49), images of place conveyed through song may be fixed and static in the imagination; "locations frozen in musical time and imagination". Sarah, shares this view:

> Yes, exactly but then this is part of the fact that it travels because I think you do hear a song and it does evoke memories and the memories are associated with I suppose where...what you were doing when you first heard it. (I~Sarah)

Paul, although he considers such notions as 'romantic', does admit to a connection between his playing and the particular places the toponymic references of the tunes titles:

> It's very cheesy, isn't it? … I'm going to play the Rothbury Hills and I'm going to think of the Rothbury Hills, even though I've never

> been. I think it's very romantic … no, it's romantic. Then you conjure up this image of somewhere you've never seen and you've never been to but you think, if the music is this nice, surely the place is much nicer, because you can only capture so much in musical form. (I~Paul)

This associative function, between memory and place through localized music, is felt acutely by others as an integral part of their musical practice. There are two tunes in particular, both 'located' at Hesleyside Hall (See map 1.2), that participants' see as resonant with their perceptions of place. Hesleyside Hall, a manor house sitting beside the North Tyne just outside of the parish boundary has two tunes named after; these are 'The Hesleyside Reel', and 'Sweet Hesleyside'. Anne and Sarah both recognize an associative function between the actual 'place' and its invocation in the tunes.

> And there's a real sense of you hear the music you know where it's written about so every time you hear that music you'll picture that place and I think that's what's at the core of a lot of it … Yeah, because whenever I here Hesleyside Reel I'm just going to think of Hesleyside, I'm going to think of the water and I'm going to think of the rocks and that's why it's written. (I~Sarah)
>
> I should look at the music more carefully but I think about Sweet Hesleyside every time I drive down to Bellingham, because Hesleyside Hall is there, isn't it? So I drive practically past it every day, and that's important … (I~Anne)
>
> No, I think they do because particularly with the Northumbrian pipes because it's such a regional instrument and because there are some very local tunes there that we know, they're all relatively modern, they were all written in the last 30-40 years most of them but you're up here and the Hesleyside reel comes on and things like that and there's a real sense of...
>
> (I) There's a bit of excitement about it somehow.
>
> Yeah, there is and it's just...it's local, it's ours and it's a proprietary kind of thing I think. (I~Sarah)
>
> But I mean others, even the...even, 'I cannot get to my love if I were'...that's written at Chollerford so that was local, you can picture the stretch of river... (I~Sarah)

Elements of landscape are inculcated and drawn into sonic geographies of Northumberland (Matless, 2005), their particular local references and

vernacular terms contributing to an evoked 'sense of place' (Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). Part of this is the sense of 'continuity' afforded to 'authentic stages' for musical performance. These stages, I have argued, are simultaneously the performance arenas for rurality itself (Edensor, 2006). Thus, for Gwennie, the ceremonial role of small-piping at Hesleyside Hall provides her with a palpable sense of connection, 'like the root going right down' (I~Gwennie). It is, after all, the significance and meaning given to these expressions by their *devotees*, that they continue to exist; the relationships and meanings embedded in them give place its vitality (Stefano & Corsane, 2008; Tuan, 1991). As I showed in chapter 4, a sense of common identity is founded in participation with the Northumbrian musical tradition. This extends from an historical sense of continuity, with the shepherds for instance, to the strongly felt musical community of the present. However, in another respect, this communal identification is also deeply embedded in rural places too; even musical instruments become significant representations of place (Feintuch, 1995). In their study of Northumbrian smallpipes players, one respondent described to Stefano & Corsane (2008: 39) his motivations for playing the instrument: "it's a skill which is embedded in the county, itself…the tunes which are played, the actual instrument, itself". Gwennie reiterates this with respect to the particular in Tarset, this time Hesleyside Hall:

> Oh it does! I think there's something really special about the fact that tunes were written in the landscape and have connections to particular people, particular places where the tunes were written and the tunes were played. There's something lovely about playing 'Sweet Hesleyside' on the steps at Hesleyside, for weddings, and the childrens' 21st. Playing at the bottom at the bottom of the stairs and something about the tune belonging to the place. That's really lovely. Its like you can almost feel like the root going right down. Its magic! (I~Gwennie)

As Galani-Moutafi (2013: 105) suggests, "the distinctiveness of […] folk culture lies in certain highly maintained values which shape practices of solidarity and reciprocity among its residents". Throughout this discussion I have suggested landscape may exist as an aesthetic object, primarily something to be 'seen'. However, I have also begun to challenge this prosaic notion, intimating that

participants actually experience and dwell in landscape in much more phenomenological, embodied ways. In the next section I wish elaborate upon this aspect of landscape, suggesting that a more immersive engagement and relationship occurs. In this, I draw upon the notion of rural labour, specifically shepherding, and the practice of walking, historically and contemporarily, to that occupation. Indeed, I shall indicate some of the ways the historical significance of the 'The Shepherds' to the Northumbrian tradition is manifest today in implications of 'authenticity' and 'continuity'. To present landscape as a spatial retainer for the imaginative construction of 'place' may seem downright anachronistic. Material, structural aspects, are not however, considered as a fetishized 'container' but as "constantly produced, reproduced and (potentially) transformed" relationally to their 'lived experience' (Halfacree, 2006: 45).

5.4. The Shepherds – Everyday lives of the rural

In section 5.3 I presented an argument against the disassociation of significant place meanings from specific locations (Murdoch & Pratt, 1993), maintaining the possibility of unique local places met with scepticism in the literature. Through folk music, it is 'particular' musical representations of rural landscape, I suggested, that most ably pertain to the construction of a distinctive local identity in Tarset. This reflects a degree of 'reattachment' between representations of rural (the *sign* and *signification*) with their geographical, material *referent* (Halfacree, 2006)[108]. To illustrate this, I showed how participant repertoires – and particularly their own compositions - inculcated physical experiences and emotional responses in musical representations of the Tarset landscape (Cruickshank, 2009; Jones & Cloke,

[108] By here turning to the particular in folk music, one may also refute the suggestion of 'post-rural' (Murdoch & Pratt, 1993) and the de-territorialized rural space (Cloke, 2006).

2002). This is particularly the case with David, whose compositions may be seen to fill the dearth of 'traditional' songs belonging to the Tarset Parish. I have intimated some of the ways David's compositions present a mediated rurality, constructing a figurative 'lyrical place', which is both reflective of, and a contribution to, Tarset's 'sonic geography'. I have also suggested how such songs, particularly 'Walk with me…', may be adopted by the community so as to perform a particular collective engagement with the rural. David's occupation as a farmer, and the agricultural emphasis of his songs seems indicative of the tendency to bound folk music within a pastoral rural space. Thus references to farming practices signify degrees of 'authenticity' and importantly, *continuity* in Northumbrian music and to qualify its employment as a representation of the rural. Thus, as David suggests, the general terms of 'rivers' and 'hills' may 'play a significant part' in his songwriting, yet it is the stimuli of the particular that seem most likely to inspire composition:

> Yeah. That's definitely influenced by the areas, the areas of things that has happened 'foot and mouth', the Curlews that were coming back in the spring and various things like that; that you'd see as you were walking around. It's all influenced by what you see. (I~David)

Thus, seasonal events (the Curlews' return), even a particular day's atmospheric conditions, for instance, reflect the particular in landscape's inspiration. As we saw in relation to one Johnny's composition 'Crag Lough', he suggests '… it might have been on a particular day, a time of year, it could be anything like that' (I~Johnny). It is these temporally and location specific compositions, I argued, that are most powerful as evocators of place. As Tuan (1991; 692) puts it, the meaning of a real place is constructed "… through accretional layers of gossip and song, oral history, written history, essays and poems; and through pictures". So participant', as well as my own perceptions of locality through general and particular representations in folk music draw upon the tensions between 'representation' and 'experience', 'imagination' and 'being' inherent therein (Cresswell, 2003; Mitchell, 2003; Cosgrove, 2003; Matless, 2003). In contrast to the general landscape, then - which on the whole detaches musical representations from specific localities - by the particular I referred to concrete details unique to the Tarset landscape, which

may instead draw the two together. Thus, although the particular may still mean ‘hills and rivers’, these are no longer abstracted. Rather, they are named geographies and intimately knowable; they harbour distinctive flora and fauna; are places of habitation, work and leisure; in short, they allude to the narratives of personal identity and place.

However, general and particular landscapes, representational codes for rurality, have appeared in the preceding sections in something of a conventional guise, as aesthetic, socio-cultural, indeed historical ‘objects’; as things to be looked at and described musically through imitation, quotation and allegory. In short, these representational and local forms of Tarset place making both demonstrate clearly how “nature … adds value to culture” (Cruickshank, 2009; Halfacree, 2012). Indeed hitherto now, I have engaged with literatures that present landscape as essentially – though importantly – *visual* by virtue of its materiality being seen. David reiterates this notion when he says ‘its all influenced by what you see’. This ‘seeing’ of rural space I showed, in a constructionist manner, as potentially coloured by the particular cultural lenses through which we see it. In this sense, the notions of general and particular codes present landscape as though at a distance, and more specifically, through an encultured, aesthetic ‘gaze’ (Wylie, 2007). The analytical emphasis has therefore, and more so than the treatment of community in chapter 4, been upon the *seeing* of landscape as an object composed of elemental, geological, and aesthetically valuable features. Participant musical expressions were therefore interpreted as providing an idealised-imagined account of this material locality (Howard, 2011). In the preceding sections however, landscape remains relatively objective, though evoking emotional responses; a ‘cultural landscape’ of “silent and passive surface of forms sculpted by the historical efforts of nature and humans” (Lund & Benediktsson, 2010; Howard, 2011; Sauer, 1996 [1925]). Yet, as Cresswell (2003: 271) argues, this ‘contemplative gaze’, applicable to participant and academic discourses alike, unhelpfully “obliterates the world of the practical”, suppressing everyday responses to place with the weight of

some “mysterious and overarching culture” (ibid: 270). Ways of seeing in this purview, although comprising macro and micro discursive structures, appear to be governed as though by some kind of Marxian cultural ‘superstructure’ (see Cosgrove, 1985; Daniels, 1990; 1993; Olwig, 1984).

There are, then, inevitable shortcomings in this analysis, the foremost being an implicit neglect of corporeal human presence *in* landscape, agential submission to structural mores, and the necessary role of this in place construction (chapter 2.3). This, as I showed in chapter 4, reflects socio-musicological movements in the academy away from perceptions of musical production as purely the product of social and discursive forces and determinants (Prior, 2011). It does not seem to represent the whole story. Not only is the purview aesthetic, it is also somewhat ascetic, inferring an intellectual ‘distance’ between subject and object. This ‘duplicitous meaning’ – between structure and agency - is for Kenneth Olwig, also landscape’s defining problem (1996: 630).

> This dual character suggests how space both subsumes place, with the loss of any ingrained meanings – in Marx’s famous dictum, ‘all that is solid melts into air’ – and reconfigures places as relative ‘permanences’ carved out through the flow of processes producing space (Harvey, 1996: 261)

Thus, to skirt over the complexities of these broad concepts may invite criticism of superficiality. If places are composites of structure-agency tensions, “any sense of spatial solidity or permanence only arises from the coming together of connections or processes” (Cresswell, 2013: 219). So it is that I wish to introduce another aspect to folk music and place, one that confounds the singular view that participant compositions unthinkingly reconstruct the structures of the folk idiom through an encultured ‘gaze’ and mediated forms of understanding. “In summary”, Halfacree (2012: 395) suggests, “thinking affectively takes us from ‘viewing’ rurality as a finished (human) landscape to ‘experiencing’ it in all of its multifarious processual and thus always incomplete (human and nonhuman) diversity”. As Ingold (2000: 207) likewise argues:

> The landscape, in short, is not a totality that you or anyone else can look at, it is rather the world in which we stand in taking up a point of view on our surroundings. And it is within the context of this attentive involvement in a landscape that the human imagination gets to work in fashioning ideas about it …

Or indeed, fashioning folk music about it. In this section then, I wish to carry on Russell's (2003; 278) notion of the ethnographic, everyday nature of folk music making in a rural community. Departing from prior, repertoire orientated works Russell instead chooses to see the structures of active tradition, and its significances, not as singing *in* context, but singing *as* context. In this light we may also move towards Halfacree's (2006) notion of 'everyday lives of the rural'. This aspect Galani-Moufti (2013) describes as rural space, its materiality, representation and idea as not only varying between actors but also guiding their actions. Or, as Edensor (2006: 491) concludes

> Despite a geographical focus upon the representational, symbolic and purposive lineaments of spatial identity, the most grounded, situational relationship between people and space occurs within the mundane sphere of the everyday.

In the least then, I show that these socio-cultural landscapes have very real implications for everyday lives in material locations. As Buttimer (1980: 178) comments "it is the style of life associated with place which is still far more important for me than its external form". The notion is best surmised by Michael Simmons, who writes of Tarset's hill farmers: "What you see here are landscape's inhabitants, its shepherds and tenant farmers, who are actually of the landscape and inseparable from it". (2005: 6). Likewise, folk music, as George Revill (2005: 693) puts it, "[is] created through long-term engagement between the specificities of land and people and the intimacies of labour and leisure", a relationship that resonates with various participants in this respect:

> Well I suppose it's music that's been played by the locals for years and years, really, and the songs that they've used about their own environment … So, your folk music was evolved out of the life patterns of people in a particular community (I~Johnny)

> But to me folk is something that you can sing in a pub that will make everybody go yeah I know the feeling of that, I've been there, I've

> seen it, I've done it, that to me is folk. And the humour of it as well. I think this is where Irish folk songs are very good in terms of a lot of them are humorous, a lot of them poke fun at themselves. They talk a lot about old men and young girls and various marriages and people injuring themselves in accidents with farm animals and all this kind of stuff. And a lot of it is just stuff that people will relate to on an everyday level. And for me I suppose that's what folk is really, it's just telling the story of a life or things. (I~Sarah)

Participants continually perceived this somewhat conservative purview of folk music's origins, as occurring in symbiosis between the occupations and topography of the rural. Musing upon the relationship between everyday life in the countryside, and the relationship with music, one participant asks candidly:

> … so in a way the geology of the area takes mankind on, saying, 'you're getting nowt out of me', and mankind says 'I'm going to make a living out of it, and I'll put up with the hardships. So does the music reflect this? (I~Johnny)

> So it has something to do with the land, in the fact that the people on the land get together, and make music together. And that is the root of their thinking when they start to play and phrase their styles. And it might have something to do with the loneliness of the communities originally, before the radio and before the festivals. (I~Johnny)

And that is the question I wish to explore: Does Tarset folk music reflect the hardships, the making a living; the relationships with landscape? Increasing interest in human geography is being paid to human experiences of wild and remote places (see Cosgrove & Della Dora, 2008; Lyng 2004; Macnaghten and Urry 1998; Wylie 2005). However, as Yarwood (2011) suggests, few have ameliorated socio-cultural approaches to subject, emotion, affect and landscape (Wylie, 2005; 2007) with those focused upon the political and structural factors (Blacksell 2005; Sidaway 2009). One way to overcome this impasse, is, as I have already suggested, is to investigate the 'everyday lives' aspect of Halfacree's (2006) three-fold architecture for rural space. This is something which equates to the rural 'practices' described by Liepins (2000a; see chapter 4.3). In this section then, I wish to present the Tarset landscape as certainly visual, but not merely 'seen' (Lund & Benediktsson, 2010).

Sarah intimates this aspect of landscape, one tied to its lived experience, and one that is more corporeal and experiential than purely visual; where 'the story of life', and life itself, 'is so much a part of landscape'.

> I think it is...it must be guided by landscape because it's telling the story of life and life is so much part of landscape. So if you have a farming tradition then presumably you have farming but they will take...magnify all the aspects of that particular area. So if you're farming up here you will get songs about bleak, about hill farms, about wind, rain, weather, that kind of thing. If you're farming further down south for example you'd get pastoral songs and plough boy songs and blah, blah, blah. And it all reflects I suppose what your...what people's relationship is with the land that they're living on. (I~Sarah)

The emphasis here is upon a direct correspondence in an iterative triad of rural occupation, landscape, and folk music. In the rural sphere, as in any other, structures of feeling and sensuous knowledge are founded in the tasks at hand and the environment in which they are performed. The world is not, therefore, a static backdrop against which social processes occur, rather it is a co-constitutive in processual arrangements between real and imagined, material and socially-constructed spaces (Malpas, 2005). Or indeed, where habitual, unreflexive practices produce continually *becoming* subjects (Nash, 2000) and the repetition of those practices in affective, embodied relations to landscape serves to provide a sense of consistency, or continuity, of *being* in space (Edensor, 2006). Landscape is perhaps best seen then as a physical 'background' of imaginary or idealised settings, articulated in music and discourse though general and particular features. Against this plays a 'foreground' of actuality and everyday life (Hirsch, 1995). Indeed, this section will show how folk music features in 'everyday lives of the rural' through its spatial and hybridized contexts (Halfacree, 2006; Hudson, 2006) expressing for rural residents "a complex suite of emotions, experiences, and in many cases, places" (Yarwood & Charlton, 2009: 194). As Smith (1984) observes similarly, without recognizing that 'living, acting and working' produce geographical spaces, such a socially disconnected view of the rural is a "philosophical amputee" (1984: 77).

Thus it is in this, the final section of the chapter, that I look in more depth at how particular representations of the rural inflect upon the acutal experience of rural landscape through the ideas of the 'third rural' (see chapter 2.3). Representations appear in "the more general rules and norms of everyday life that are operative in a given place. Thus, representations of space will to some extent be perceived, appropriated and perhaps even subverted within daily life" (Halfacree, 2006: 50). Happily, this farthest point of discussion also brings us full circle to the very notions of the Northumbrian tradition and the ideologies of folk music, in particular 'The Shepherds', and their ongoing influence upon the Northumbrian discourse. These representational codes are a further means to apprehend material locale in music making, this time through 'practice'. It is this practical element I wish reinstate into a holistic model for analyzing place and landscape. Such a purview provides a productive departure point from which to reflexively explore more analogous local ideas, including the more immersive role of landscape. In order to approach this aspect of the hybrid rural epistemology, these themes are approached through rural occupation in music making, particularly shepherding, an historically and contemporarily significant occupation in the Northumrian musical discourse (Murphy, 2007; Feintuch, 1995). Likewise, a peculiarly rural practice inculcated in perceptions of Northumbrian music is the act of walking in and 'seeing' the landscape, either through leisure or labouring activities – and these both provide different emphases on the nature of musical experience of landscape (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008)[109]: To this I turn in section 5.3.4. As a representation of rurality, I then consider the ways the repertoires of folk music in Tarset are indicative of adherence to material images of rurality and also dissent from them. Epistemologically, this section ventures into what has been described as recent more-than-representational ethnography (see chapter 2.1.3) including ideas of dwelling in landscape

[109] Through the history of the shepherds, bearers of continuity in Northumbrian tradition, considering the significance of shepherding today and other performances of rurality through music making, which occur and valorize themselves across various 'stages' (Edensor, 2006).

(Edensor, 2006; Ingold, 2000) and embodiment through walking (Vergunst etc). Finally, I consider how the geographical isolation of Tarset my influence the material aspects of 'place'. In latter part of the section I discuss how the act of walking, as a typical rural practice – particularly of shepherding, but also as a leisure pursuit - suggests a more immersive participation in landscape than the purely visual (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008; Olwig, 2007; Wylie, 2007; 2002a).

5.4.1. *The Shepherds – A source of continuity in music and place*

For all of the preceding sections folk music often refers to more than simply the topographical aspects of locality. It is important to realize therefore, that the *particular* and *general* elements of landscape are not the only associative factor between representations of rurality in music and 'sense of place'. Folk music is resilient in this respect; compositions also incorporate representations of the people and events that also occupy local rural spaces. General and particular representations of people appear, as in songs like 'Cannie Shepherd Laddies of the Hills…'[110], and agrarian events; "there's 'The Kielder Hunt' which is very local to here. 'Bellingham Show' which Mike sings..." (I~David). Thus, Johnny suggests:

> … you might look at somebody's repertoire and they might have only six tunes that have names of hills, seven songs with place names and the rest are all about people, or about sheep. (I~Johnny)

[110] Not only is the song anchored in place by virtue of Northumberland's 'quoted' rivers; the song also presents a wonderful character portrait if the shepherd laddies: 'Now if ye've gaun among them as A've done for forty years/ Nae kinder hearted folk you'll meet if you look far or near/ The kettl'e set a boiling and they cry "Sit you doon here"/ The canny shepherd laddie o' the hills'.

Songs and tunes 'about people, or about sheep' do figure predominantly in the Northumbrian repertoire. Indeed, the work in upland Northumberland, was, and to a large extent remains, sheep farming. Tarset agricultural land is still predominantly given over to the hill-farming of sheep and cattle (http://www.tarset.co.uk/farming/index.cfm). Shepherding is synonymous with the Northumbrian upland landscape, past and present (Simmons, 2006). St. Cuthbert, patron saint of Northumberland, born in the Northumbrian Borders, was a 'shepherd laddie' when he witnessed St. Aidan's ascension into heaven. Alistair Moffat remembers an old Shepherd retelling the story: "He was a hird-laddie, like myself, and he saw visions up in the hills. Now, I can quite easily believe that!" (2007)[111]. Moreover, shepherding is also significant to Northumberland's musical tradition. Allusions to the pastoral, the sanctity of the 'Shepherd', his dedication to his flock and his fiddle, permeate this section. Indeed, extant in the data are a series of complex attitudes and understandings towards both historical and contemporary occupations in rural Northumberland. For David, engagement with folk music might bring about some connection not only with those who lived before, but those who performed the same occupation as him:

> A lot of these, traditional songs are a part of history as well and inasmuch as, you pick up snippets of what *life was like* … (I~David)

The theme here is reminiscent of Arensberg and Kimball's (1974: 340) suggestion that "Community extends backwards and forwards in time beyond the life history of any one individual". This agrarian culture is reflected in David's summation of the Northumbrian song repertoire and its historicism seems indicative of an at least superficial connection with 'the past'. This, I have described folk music's potential to invoke past lives in the present (Richards, 1992). This is embodied in the 'spirit' of the Shepherds. Johnny, when asked if a Northumbrian song was particularly resonant for him, replied without hesitation: 'Canny Shepherd Laddies O' the Hills', straight away …

[111] The old shepherd then ponders: "What I want to know is that, when he became a monk, what happened to his dog? If it was a guid yin, it wouldnae have left him or gone away with another hird" (ibid)

Because it encompasses the aspects of the shepherd's life … Yes, that's the song, as rural songs, it's the one that really hit me as memorable' (I~Johnny). The song is a notable example of 'lyrical anchoring' in the Northumbrian repertoire – in which songs are bounded by the structures of a regional 'repertoire', but otherwise tend to lack locally specific detail in their content[112]. The chorus runs as follows:

> Oh the shepherds of the Coquet, the Alwin an' the Rede/ Of the Beaumont an' the Breamish, they're all of the same breed/ Wi' their collie dogs beside them an' theor sticks wi' horn at heed/ Theor the canny shepherd laddies o' the hills

David, himself a hill farmer and shepherd, similarly expresses a close relationship between music and rural occupation, in content and composition and in terms of its regional specificity (something I showed as constraining his own repertoire):

> Most of them [folks songs] have an agricultural bias, tend to be sort of shepherds who would do it because in many respects they had the time … I can't think of, off hand, any Northumbrian song that's actually talking about horse ploughing. But, songs about sheep, there's quite a few but there's not in other places. Here it tends to have been the shepherds that sort of composed songs; played music … (I~David)

The contents of these songs tend to reflect the traditional industries of their origin – often in self-celebratory, or ironically self-depreciating representations of rural lives, as in 'Canny Shepherd Laddies...', 'The Shepherd's Life' (Will Scott) and so forth. Present musicians have continued to select these representations to reflect and inform their lived experience of rurality. Folk music still provides communal appeal and relevance. Folk music can convince us that we may recover areas of experience we feel we have lost (Richards, 1992). There are many ways in which landscape is 'lived' by those engaging with such representations; producing them, through composition; reproducing them, through performance of both; and living them, in the course of everyday

[112] Tyneside songs almost ubiquitously reference place names, yet Northumbrian rural songs on the other hand, perhaps by their being older, tend not to.

life. This is to refract the implicit nature of labour as a deeply experiential process of emersion in landscape. In all of this, shepherding I take to be emblematic of both the musical tradition and of rural practice in Northumberland. To ascertain if and how historical discourses may have travelled into the present day, and indeed, may actually influence respondents' envisioning of themselves and others is a complex and somewhat speculative task. However, given the prominence of the 'The Shepherds' in the Northumbrian discourse, I see it as important enough in the next part of this chapter to provide a brief historical sketch of their rise in 1950s Northumberland, and to indeed speculate upon how this has subsequently contributed to the perceived character of the Northumbrian tradition.

In the mid to later part of the 20th century, a group of musicians, known collectively as 'The Shepherds', achieved national fame through the mechanisms of the 'second folk revival' and the new performance arenas of radio broadcast, records, folk-clubs and festivals (Brocken, 2003). Their names - Willie Taylor (fiddle), Will Atkinson (harmonica or 'Moothie'), Tommy Breckons (Northumbrian Smallpipes); Joe Hutton (Northumbrian Smallpipes), Billy Pigg (Northumbrian Smallpipes) – are synonymous with distinctiveness and authenticity of the Northumbrian style and repertoire (Murphy, 2007). What is more, the music they played together has grown in significance as something of a 'true' reflection, and indeed evidence of 'place' and 'people' – their veracious identity - united in musical expression (Shelemay, 1996). As Gwennie testifies:

> I think it was because they were so completely immersed in it, and I think Anthony Robb was saying, very much describe the effort that would be involved for them to get together and play, to go and play at a dance, it involved carrying their instruments on their backs, and miles of walking. There's something about the music they played having a very pure, Joe Hutton for example, Joe's pipe playing had a very pure, clear tone to it. And there's something about the very real purity and authenticity of their music, and the heart from which it came, really. Because their playing together was so beautiful, the spirit with which they shared their music together. And I think it

> represents an awful lot about a sense of place and where the music comes from within people: How that's expressed in playing and also the places where they drew the music from (I~Gwennie)

One of the key mantles of the Northumbrian tradition is its non-revivalist history, bounded in people and place. This aesthetic of stability and self-containment permeates perceptions of the Northumbrian tradition (Murphy, 2007) despite sometimes conflicting with historical evidence (Feintuch, 1995; Revill, 2005). That is to say, unlike many other areas of England, Northumbrian music has purportedly survived throughout the 20th century without the intervention of revivalists. The unbroken lineage of the tradition is often attributed to this small group of musicians. It is said, afterall, that "thanks to Joe [Hutton] and a few others like Billy Pigg, Jack Armstrong, George Atkinson and Tommy Breckons, that Northumbrian piping survived the relatively lean years of the 1940s and '50s to become as popular and well-known as it is today … He was an important link with the music of earlier generations of Northumbrian musicians" (Dixon, 1995: 269)[113]. Johnny also adds:

> I think The Shepherds wouldn't have been as prominent if Alistair hadn't encourage them to go round the folk festivals. They had always been respected in Northumberland, but the fact that Alistair said, well there's a lot of people want to hear your music, and they're friendly people, you can trust them, because they were very suspicious at first, and then eventually they got the idea of the folk crowd, if you like … (I~Johnny)

And Paul:

> There were thousands of shepherds in Northumberland probably playing music just like these three but, because these three went round and got a bit famous, that's why everybody goes on about it. I guess if Alistair hadn't have bothered or done what he did we'd probably be harping on about some other shepherds somewhere else. (I~Paul)

Certainly it is true that hundreds, possibly thousands, have taken up the Northumbrian smallpipes in recent decades (Feintuch, 1995). Kathryn

[113] Or more dramatically, "with his [Hutton's] death one of the last links with a world of traditional folk music making is severed".

Tickell's recent *Northumbrian Voices* project (2011) is to date the most prominent and powerful exegesis on this discourse[114]. Alistair Anderson, in Will Taylor's obituary, also writes tellingly of this: "He [Taylor] brought the authentic sound of traditional music from Northumberland and the Borders to festival audiences from Cambridge to Sidmouth, from Whitby to Shetland, and to the Queen Elizabeth Hall, in London" (Guardian online). Indeed, Anderson's article is suffused with the kind of border mythology that has since the Shepherds encapsulated the Northumbrian tradition. Gwennie shares this sentiment:

> I don't think there is any point at which you can say it stopped or it started, or it took on a new form. I think it evolves through the individuals that are playing it at the time…Its great that some of the tunes that Joe Hutton, and Willie Taylor and Williy Atkinson played are still wonderful tunes that are played. Automatically, when those tunes are played, there's no separation between the past and the present, its just continuing. (I~Gwennie)

In a certain sense, we perceive again an elective belonging to community of the kind I described in chapter 4.2.5. Whereas then, the argument was hinged around David's song, 'Walk with me …', and the strength of community participation and subscription to it, here we meet a subscription to 'social memory' of the kind described by Wheeler (2014; see also Fentress & Wickham, 1992; Harvey, 2002; Riley & Harvey, 2007). Wheeler finds this 'elusive concept' in instances where "information and experiences from the group's collective past are passed down to current generations, primarily through traditional practices, oral history and stories or folklore" (2014: 23). Certainly, the Northumbrian discourse, the 'continuing' of tradition, represents an elective participation in this perceived social and cultural history:

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[114] It is interesting that David suggested the likes of Willie Taylor, Will Atkinson, Joe Hutton and Tommy Breckon – "all these that have sort of had their day and gone", were important figures in the writing of 'Heather Reek'. In actual fact, I dare say David listed those names for my benefit, the content of the song primarily concerning his own life. However, that he did is not insignificant, for he certainly knew the 'Shepherds' and esteems them highly within the tradition.

> It's sort of everything really, it's a bit of everything. A lot of it I think is the landscape, a lot of it is...but it is the people as well as part of that landscape, as part of the attitude and as part of the spirit of enduring in a landscape like this. It's...and a sense of community for me is...it's vastly important. (I~Sarah)

Paul implicates a sense of the continuing tradition by an anti-revivalist sentiment:

> I don't know, I guess if you can appreciate music can appreciate other things and, to be developed enough to play technical instruments like the Northumbrian pipes or the fiddle, I think you could probably appreciate the landscape without being told how to do it by the middle classes. (I~Paul)

Image 5.6: The Shepherds in the Harthope Valley; Left-Right Willie Taylor (fiddle), Will Atkinson ('Mouthie'), Joe Hutton (Northumbrian pipes) (Source: http://www.sheeptales.org.uk)

Part of this 'continuing' was, however, undoubtedly assisted by the record industry, with, in the second revival, a small but voracious audience for 'authentic' regional music (Sweers, 2006). The idea of 'authenticity' emanating from the 'spatial fixity' of pre-capitalist music, such as folk song, suggests not only a relation between cultural and geographical origins of music, "but also through the link to nostalgia" (Connell & Gibson, 2007: 19). The commodification of the countryside is also often linked to nostalgic idealization of the 'past' (Wright, 1985; Urry, 1995; Phillips *et al.*, 2001). Alistair Anderson writes, this time in Willie Atkinson's obituary: "Willie played mainly within his own community, walking miles over the hills to play at village dances, which would often continue through the night until it was light enough to walk back over the hills, arriving home just in time to start work the next day" (Anderson, Guardian). Again, to make just one interpretive reading of the discourse, there may be detected therein an implicit sense in which the Shepherds hold, for many musicians, a certain degree of the 'authentic', however abstract. There is even a certain virtuousness in the lengths, literally, the Shepherds would go for their craft, and their 'community':

> So they would rely on meeting other people that they met from that community … you're going to travel a long way out, you're going to travel a canny way, you've got to be determined, if you're going to go and see your neighbor. (I~Johnny)

As I showed with regards the marketing of Northumbrian music in section 5.2 of this chapter, the mythic image of the apolitical rural space has long been promoted as a means to progress (or perpetuate) an idealised rural community pitted against the divisive, "alien and morally corrupt society of the city" (Woods, 2005: 4). Early discourses on the make-up of rural communities were inherently entwined with discourses on power, presenting particular hegemonic (or proto-hegemonic) representations of rurality (Woods, 1997). In a sense the Shepherds fit the outline of Cecil Sharp's folk; members of a somewhat closed, traditional 'agrarian community'; busily and virtuously engaged in labouring the land, making music for the ears of their own contemporaries? The rationale for this *stability* in social and political relations is its necessary function in economic reciprocities and the reproduction (and

deduction) of a normative sense of 'traditional community' (Day, 2006). Here Johnny discusses the song he wrote for Hannah:

> … I wrote a song especially for her [Hannah], called *The Land Where the Fells Meet the Sky*, after hearing her interviewed at Whitby. Because she was talking about what life was like, you know, and following the seasons, and how you relied on your neighbours. And when you were snowed in, it was no good saying, 'eeh we're snowed in, what will we do? (I~Johnny)

From the extract one might draw an allusion between the admiration of the hardiness, the strength of the Northumbrian farming community of 'the past' and the way the same sentiments are represented in 'Canny Shepherd Laddie …': '*In the winter when its stormy and drifts are piling high/ He'll never flinch tae tak the risk that in the snow he may die/ His first care is his sheep are settled and sheltered safe may lie/ The canny shepherd laddie o' the hills'*. It is the 'what life was like' that is probably the operative notion in both David and Johnny's discourses. Johnny recalls asking one of the great shepherd musicians ("I think it was either Mouthie or Joe") how they would remember a new tune, having no tape recorder, and after having heard it only once:

> Oh well you see, we'd walk in together, up the road, and this was the way we did it, now. You see, if there was an 'a' part and a 'b' part, now Will would remember the 'a' part, and Mouthie would remember the 'b' part, and we'd diddle them to each other, up the road, until we got them all together, and by the time we got home we would know the tunes! And the next time we were together, we'd be able to play them. (I~Johnny)

Walking, too, appears continually in this chapter, as a part of labour and of recreation, as a point of immersion in the landscape, and introspection of the self. Most importantly, walking is a means by which 'musical places' are delineated in 'space'. Here then, I turn away from the geological features of landscape to explore the role of human practices with and towards them. At Tim Edensor's (2006) suggestion, therefore, I see something of an axis between representation and experience, whereupon the consumption of representations also becomes an act of performance: A kind of praxis, where "subjective impressions can be projected on to life and thereby become real to

projectors" (Bourdieu, 1979). How is it then, that analogies may be drawn between the significance of 'The Shepherds' to the Northumbrian canon, the apparent replaying of this in David's role as 'Singing Shepherd' and the corporeal experience of the Tarset landscape? In the following section I shall explore these themes through the practice and metaphor of occupations and walking.

5.4.2. *Rural occupations & folk music*

As I showed in chapter 4, the delineation and defence of community boundaries tends to occur within the confines of 'practiced spaces'. Thus, through our very movements we define places and spaces, in both physical and imagined geographies (de Certeau, 1984). Moreover, they are politicized and contested spaces; Landscape is "not just where we picnic but also where we live and die" (Solnit, 2010: 10). Many geographers and anthropologists have pursued landscape from this Merleau-Pontian, increasingly phenomenological perspective (Hirsch & O'Hanlon, 1995; Ingold, 2000; Tilley, 1997; 2004; 2008). Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2006), for instance, argue that the body plays a fundamental role in the definition and creation of space. 'Embodied spaces' suggest both the corporeal and phenomenological experience of space as an aspect of culture: Proxemics thus places the body as the centre of the perceptual processes of "being in the world" (2006: 4, Hallowell, 1955). Hirsch (1995) advocates an approach that attempts to ameliorate the material, visual aspects of landscape with its lived experience, his theory of 'background' and 'foreground' landscape pits cultural idealization of landscape against material actuality. The idealisation of landscape relates to the rural idyll and socio-constructions of place more generally; that rurality as an imagined place equates to more than the material or physical actuality of its space. Rather, the performance of Tarset as place requires not only the

tangible, particular elements within it, but also the intangible, socio-subjective features of it (Corsane, *et al.* 2009).

One kind of performance, walking, I shall show as deeply embedded in everyday rural practices, in the doxic nature of landscape (Cresswell, 2003). According to Jóhannesdóttir (2010:114), landscape, much as we have hitherto seen, is a physicality: "it includes nature in the meaning of earth, water, plant and animal life, biological and geological diversity; it includes human-made objects, buildings, roads, sculptures". These are the products of culture. But, Jóhannesdóttir adds, landscape also includes "movements and action". This I have chosen to explore through walking. In the last decade scholars have paid some attention to the act of walking in the experience of space and place from a methodological perspective (Jones *et al*., 2008; Anderson, 2004; Capriano, 2009; Rickets Hein *et al*., 2008) and the theoretical (Ingold, 2000; 2007; 2011; Ingold & Vergunst, 2008; Vergunst, 2012; Vergunst & Árnason, 2012; Wylie, 2002a; 2005; 2007). A few researchers have also paid special credence to the act of walking as a phenomenological approach to understanding and experiencing landscape (Ingold, 2004; Wylie, 2002a) and to walking as a performance of rurality (Edensor, 2000; Macpherson, 2009). "Running through all of these techniques", Lee and Ingold suggest, "has been the idea of mobility in fieldwork, where the journeys people make also make their places and, as a corollary, the ethnographic field itself" (2006: 68; Ingold & Vergunst, 2008). These ideas I wish to illustrate now with a pertinent passage from my research diary, recounting an occasion at Burdonside in July 2013:

> We left Burdonside at about 7pm.
>
> David and Maureen hoped the heat of the day would have died down enough that the sheep would be willing to move from the hill. The three of us walked through the Steading field, past the enclosures at the top of the in-by land and out onto the rough fell. It was still very warm, and I trailed behind David and Maureen, observing their movements. Shortly, Maureen peeled off to the right, under David's instruction, and he and I carried on between Great Dodd and Little Dodd, to the farthest limit of David's land; where the fell is separated from the eastern border of the Kielder forest

> plantations by the winding 'Black Burn'. I had travelled with David in the tractor over Heslop Crag and Little Dodd during the bleak winter months, feeding the sheep in the deep snow. Then, in the bitter cold, David & I had both 'wished the cald east wind wud nivver blaw', as Willie Scott's song goes. Now the same landscape was bathed in glorious golden sunshine; expanses of blooming cotton grass stood motionless in the still air. I had not yet been to this farthest border of 'the hill', the three round humps now between Burdonside, and us some two miles away. David pointed out sites of interest; a pile of stones he fancied to be a prehistoric long-barrow; a badger set by the burn; the family's favourite picnic spot. He told how, in the winter of 2011/2012, which was terribly severe for farmers everywhere, he had been on this land when he noticed his overcoat was beginning to freeze solid, and knew 'it was time to go home'.
>
> Always scanning the land, David was satisfied there weren't any sheep here and we moved back in the direction of Great Dodd, Burdonside's farthest heft. Now, David split to the north with the dogs, Skye and Jessie, circling Great Dodd. I carried on eastward, taking up the middle of the sweep, as it were; Maureen was already to the south on Heslop Crag, driving the right-hand flank. For the next two hours, the real work began. I ran backwards and forwards, leaping across the Broad Sike, Gimmerstone Sike, and the wonderfully named Fashous Sike, (somewhat like a sheepdog myself!), driving the ewes and lambs down the hill. It was a long and difficult task, the stubborn sheep continually breaking through our line, reversing their path, instinctively returning to the hill. Eventually however, mimicking David's 'Hey! Hey!' call, to chivvy them onwards, I had before me streams of white, flowing together down the hill towards the in-by fields.
>
> We were all exhausted, it was by now after 10pm, and the sun was low on the hill behind us. David, who had travelled farthest, was also carrying Jessie in his arms; she had succumbed to the heat and exhaustion. 'I thought I'd lost her', he said with more emotion in his voice than I would witness from him in all my time on Burdonside. Cowering from the clouds of midges and 'cleggs', we watched as the dogs cooled off in the waters of Gimmerstone Sike, before walking back across the gentle slope of the inner fields to Burdonside. (RD~David)

I remember the sheep; they trickled together like water, forming white streams heading down for home. Some them attempted to head back towards the hill and Maureen and I had a long hard job coercing them all in the correct direction. Afterwards I realized how landscape can change from a picture of

beauty to an arena for labour with no time for contemplation. Those aspects of landscape, which might have made aesthetically pleasing scenes, became hinderances to me, obstacles and so on as, exhausted, I ran backwards and forwards. Indeed, we were all three utterly exhausted, hot and thirsty. David had to carry Jesse, his dog, she had 'given up' on the hill. David was emotional, pleading with Maureen to stay with her whilst he returned again to bring home a ewe and lamb who were obstinately returning once more to the hill. The Midgies were insatiable so Maureen carried Jesse on, refusing absolutely to let me carry her, despite the burden. I felt I had really achieved something with the McCracken's, that I had proven my willingness and assisted them for the first time. They thanked me profusely. Maureen explained how they had never done the job with quadbikes, walking behind one's flock as they stream slowly home, she said, 'is one of the most traditional sights in farming'.

By the passage from my field diary about 'gathering the hill' on foot with the McCrackens, I introduce the final aspects of rural experience I wish illustrate in this chapter. This relates to the act of *walking* in landscape, as both an occupational and recreational pursuit. Moreover, this I wish to illustrate as just such a mundane, quotidian excersize as to represent, for David at least, the embodiment of what Crouch (1999) calls 'lay geographical knowledge'. This is namely the employment of landscape as a holistic way of looking at places and spaces, where the object and subject, material and practice, land and human are actually intertwined in the 'doxic landscape' (Cresswell, 2003; Jóhannesdóttir, 2010). As Woods suggests, there has recently been interest in the 'performance' of rurality, and the ways rural experiences are 'felt, sensed, intuited through bodily actions performances' (2010: 836). In this I shall return again to David's song 'Walk with me', but also to the ways David's farming activities, which necessarily involve walking, implicate a physical engagement with landscape that deconstructs a theory of landscape based purely in the visual; or rather, a sense of vision "that happens through bodily immersion rather than detached observation" (Lund & Benediktsson, 2010: 6).

David's 'geographical knowledge', of the fells and Belling Rigg, of burning the Heather; of the hefts of his sheep, all of which we have already seen play a fundamental part in his song writing, are thus inexorably linked. This seems largely the situation in which songs and tunes are composed. As Gwennie walked the fells she heard the Curlew's first call; Johnny felt the strange atmosphere of Crag Lough; and David the memories invoked by the burning back of the Heather or walking the North Tyne. These are, as Edensor (2006: 491) puts it, multi-sensory awareness, facilitating spatial orientation and activities, yet deeply immersive, space making practices which embed identity.

Image 5.7: Gathering the Hill on Foot

Perhaps, for me like many others, the romance was in the scenery; nothing more than an 'outsider's perspective' of landscape; a passive framing device for ethnographic writing (Hirsch, 1995). I was aware, for a great part of my time in Tarset that I was 'looking' at landscape as though looking at a beautiful picture. Indeed, I was often attempting to compose beautiful pictures in my

filmmaking. Raymond Williams illustrates this predicament in '*Border Country*' (1960: 75):

> He realized as he watched what had happened in going away. The valley as landscape had been taken, but its work forgotten. The visitor sees beauty, the inhabitant a place where he works and has his friends. Far away, closing his eyes, he had been seeing this valley, but as a visitor sees it, as the guide book sees it.

On the occasion of gathering the hill, however, I perhaps felt more than any other that I was no longer a visitor, seeing as the guidebook sees it, nor even a participant researcher but a fully engaged shepherd, attuned to the task at hand and the difficult terrain. This was a landscape of somatic apprehension, a 'space of practice' (de Certeau, 1984), far more than aesthetic. In this way the shepherd is perhaps, in Merleau Ponty's words, an epitomic practitioner of the "tactile perception of space" (2002 [1949]: 253; Owig, 2008) or possessor of the 'touching eye' (Lund, 2005; Tilley, 2008). In terms of my fieldwork, I was 'seeing' a 'second landscape',

> …which is produced through local practice and which we come to recognize and understand through fieldwork and through ethnographic description and interpretation (Hirsch, 1995: 2).

This was 'fieldwork on foot', affording an experience of embodiment to the extent that it is grounded in the inherently sociable engagement between the self and environment:

> A place walked through is made by the shifting interaction of person and environment, in which the movement of the whole body is important rather than just an act of vision outwards from a fixed point (Lee & Ingold, 2006: 68).

I was, as it were, *performing* rurality whilst *practicing* research. Here again we encounter the notions of insider and outsider, problematic to ethnographic methodologies, and no less so to epistemologies of landscape (Howard, 2011; Crow & Maclean, 2006). Thus the practice and positionality of being a rural researcher come to the fore. A number of researchers have critically reflected upon this fluid axis (see Leyshon, 2002; Chacko, 2004; Pini, 2004; Moseley, 2007; McAreavey, 2008; Edelman, 2009). Indeed, I am reminded of

John Berger and Jean Mohr's photo-ethnography '*A Fortunate Man*', where, Berger writes: "For those who, with the inhabitants, are behind the curtain [of landscape], landmarks are no longer only geographic but also biographical and personal' (1967: 15). As indicated in all of the preceding participant extracts, the relationship between the self and landscape is as much an imagined geography as a material one (Cosgrove, 2003). In all of this, there runs the thread of foreground and background landscapes:

> There is a relationship here between an ordinary, workaday life and an ideal, imagined existence … We can consider the first as 'foregrounded' in order to suggest the concrete actuality of everyday social life ('the way we are now'). The second we can consider as a 'background', in order to suggest the perceived potentiality thrown into relief by our foregrounded existence ('the way we might be') (Hirsch, 1995: 3).

More than this, however, I ascertain from my field diary a sense reminiscent of Edmund Husserl's 'horizon'; that, in Husserl's words, "every experience has its own horizon" (in Casey, 1996: 17). Walking David's land my own 'horizon' gradually expanded as my range of vision did, revealing the border between what was outside and what was within (Gadamer, 2004 [1960]). Throughout the course of my work on the farm it was on that evening I reached its farthest boundary; Burdonside's horizon, as it were. It is in this sense that we might appreciate the similarity between landscape and a local idea of 'place'; "an area perceived by people, and therefore containing not only their works but also their memories" (Howard, 2011: 3). However, in the realm of spatial relativity, we might also see their differences (Murdoch, 2006; Lund & Benediktsson, 2010). The 'place' of Burdonside I was constructing became a place of 'familiarity', even of comfort. But in the symbolic construction of places, as much as communities, a sense of the familiar must always exist relative to the unfamiliar (Bender, 2001): to that which exists beyond the 'horizon'. The deep Kielder forest, separated only by the little Black Burn, was an *unfamiliar* space, bounding and defining Burdonside in my imagination. In a sense this is a discrete, topographical view of place situated within landscape. In much the same way I have hitherto presented participant views. However, it

is also a *topological* one, revealing the connectedness of things. The main lesson of poststructural geography posits that, rather than spaces and places having discrete form, they are actually formed through their relations to other entities (Cresswell, 2013). In just the same way we have already witnessed participants delineating boundaries between Tarset and Falstone, Tarset and Bellingham, North Tyne and South Tyne; they are, after all, 'very different areas to this' (I~Anne).

To return again to Ingold's notion of 'dwelling' (2000), we might see in the mundane act of walking the conceptual emphasis on the intertwining of landscape and humans through everyday life (Lund & Benediktsson, 2010). Ingold's concept, as much as it is influential, has also received sustained criticism for its 'ideological overtones' of 'harmony' and 'authenticity' in everyday landscape practices (Lund & Benediktsson, 2010: 6; Massey, 2006; Tilley, 1994; Urry, 2000; Wylie, 2003). However, conversely, it is by these very qualities that I have argued the concept fits adequately with the 'authenticity', 'continuity' and 'tradition' discourses of shepherding and the Northumbrian tradition. The seeking of a 'sense-of-place' in continuity and stasis may be a phenomenon of modernity but the question must be asked of whether 'sense-of-place' existed before the awakening and consciousness to 'places' and 'communities' and the multiple identities bounded with them. "At a time when the idea of the rural as an island of cultural specificity and traditionalism has become anachronistic" (Cloke, 2006: 19) it is precisely for these perceptions that the rural has seen a great influx of demographic change through in-migration. For David, the doxic landscape is articulated through his everyday performances of shepherding, describing 'the spatial, emotional and ethical dimensions of the relationship between landscape, livestock and farming community' (Convey *et al*. 2005: 101). I am drawn to the idea of the 'dwelling' as a composting narrative for space and practice. Martin Heidegger's concept is iterated here by Thomas (1993: 28):

> Dwelling involves a lack of distance between people and things, a lack of casual curiosity, an engagement which is neither conceptual

> nor articulated, and which arises through using the world rather than through scrutiny.

Part of this complex of ideas is manifest in a sense of intimate, experiential knowledge of landscape, as is suggested by Johnny in the following extract. In his younger days a keen hiker, Johnny comments upon the nature of 'knowing' a tune, as extricated from its anchored 'place', and the greater sensuous knowledge of experiencing the 'musical place' for one's self:

> Well a lot of people don't realise that, they just hear a tune… And don't actually work out, they don't seem to be interested in the origins of the tunes, they just say, oh that's a tune, right, it's called The Wild Hills of Wannies, it's about the hills are wild. I mean there might be somebody who lives near there, and have seen the hills in all their aspects of different weathers, and times when they've been snowed in, or it could be somebody, a hiker, who got frozen on the hills, and just went once on a walk… (I~Johnny)

I was to witness a celebration of place myself, in the car with my friends, research participant Paul, and another from Newcastle. Friday 31st of May 2013 was the night of a Ceilidh at the Village Hall: the professional ceilidh band act was preceded by solo singing spots, including one from myself. Paul drove the three of us to Tarset along a route I had not previously been, from the A696 to the Ridsdale wind-farm. Ruth pointed out that we were crossing the 'Wild Hill's O' Wannie', at which point both gave me a loud rendition of the tune. When we reached Hesleyside Hall, again both gave me a raucous rendition of 'Sweet Hesleyside'. This is just a small, humorous example of musicians' affinities with the 'places' of their music. Later in the evening, a singer, rising to make her solo performance introduced her song, 'The Rose of Allendale', with a forewarning. The song, written in the 1840s by Charles Jeffreys and Sidney Nelson, has often been mis-categorized as an Irish traditional ballad. It does indeed, however, refer to the town of Allendale in Northumberland. The singer admonished the audience for possibly thinking otherwise and vehemently claimed it as 'one of ours!' (RD).

Experience of 'place' therefore connotes a sense of ownership, the site of an event; the attachments people make to the locales in which their social

engagements take place (Agnew, 1987). “Uncommodified aspects of history persist within rural landscapes”, Wheeler (2014: 22) suggests, “intertwining with everyday lives and holding various meanings for rural dwellers”. In Johnny’s sentiment I detect an inference towards there being some greater understanding in having made foreground actuality out of landscape’s background potentiality, the tune, like the Hesleyside Reel, can evoke memories of the place. To share in the act of walking the sonic geographies of the Northumbrian tradition, seems to intimate a claim to greater, experiential knowledge. Walking affords one the opportunity to perceive landscape from ‘within’, to experience how weather and so forth impinge upon emotion. Such memories can exist in relation to all kinds of spaces (Atkinson, 2007), one of which may be that of musical production. David’s song ‘Heather Reek’, to give just one example, also inculcates aspects of David’s occupation as a farmer and introspective reflections upon his personal life history. It was burning heather on the fell that the song came to David, illustrating Lee and Ingold’s (2006) notion of a ‘double awareness’ in walking; as walkers move outwards through landscape an perceive it in an acute way, so they can also turn their thoughts inwards to introspection:

> You were asking earlier on whether its related to anything, and that one was, it was all about burning heather. It’s, when you’re in the spring when you start burning the heather its, *contemplative* because you, you’re taking off, sort of, 11 years of growth. So you’re going back over years going right back to when you’re a little boy, sort of, growing up: Looking for bird’s nests and one thing and another and it’s all just disappearing like the smoke. The heather burning, that’s that one. (I~David)

Seasonal routines consolidate time-space geographies through which David can relate to episode in his own history, and express them musically, as in Heather Reek, but to which he can relate through music, sensing for what ‘life was like’. For David the fells are not just spaces of work, just as farming is not merely an economically motivated activity. Moreover, it is through his music that David has an outlet to positively culture the ‘aesthetic gaze’ which I have discussed, for it is this objectification of landscape that allows him a space from which to step away from the toils and hardships of hill farming, and to

renew his sense of continuity with those that have gone before. This special and intimate attachment David feels towards improving and constantly interacting with the landscape permeates his way of life; it comprises a critical dimension of his identity.

One way to access such notions is, as I have established, through the idea of shepherding and music. Lee and Ingold (2006) argue walking is also a means to apprehend 'place' in longer term 'spatial histories' and narratives. Regarding Aberdeen's granite architecture, they suggest

> The city was articulated into its region by a network of quarries and building sites, and the labour of those who had worked them. Relating to the granite during a walk can pull the city together as a material entity, with a long coherence over time in its regional setting (ibid: 70-71)

As in 'Yet! Yet!', the *general* in 'Heather Reek' is in fact made by inference of the *particular*, which we know by the contextualizing ethnographic data. But they also maintain a human element inasmuch as the composer's self-narrative is intimately bounded within. In this instance, the particular act of burning the heather, the 'lonely curlew's call' become a metaphysical vehicle for greater universal meanings Indeed, David's songs are interwoven with his personal narrative.:

> …When it's all going right – I mean, sometimes it gets out of control and there's panic – but, if everything's under control you just watch the smoke sort of drifting away. It makes you think of all these things that have happened in the past, you know and you're feeling a bit morbid and you think of all the folks that you've known who've disappeared; the likes of Willie Taylor and Willie Atkinson and Joe and Tommy Breckon … all these that have sort of had their day and gone. (I~David)

In a sense, David recounts a 'metaphysical experience' of landscape (Abram, 1996; Skulason, 2006). That is, after Hepburn, a metaphysical experience in the sense of having a cognitive and reflective element, in addition to sensory appreciation (Thorgeirsdottir, 2010: 13; Hepburn, 1996). Various works have explored the supposedly deep-felt attachments between farmers and the rural landscape. Predominantly, the literature places farmers as "embodying deep,

embedded and/or autochthonous attachment to place" (Cheshire *et al*., 2013) and in contrast with the 'mobility' and 'rootlessness' of contemporary society (Cheshire *et al*., 2013; Dominy, 2001; Flemsaeter, 2009; Gray, 1998; Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2005). Salamon (2003: 182-183) for example, contrasts agrarian land attachment, characterized by "organic coherence" and embeddedness in the "land that defines the place", with postagrarian attachments with land as "personal property or investment". Added to which, we might add other postagrarian land uses such as leisure, tourism (Galani-Moutafi, 2013; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2010). Thus, the practical *applied* orientation to landscape, to the task in hand of burning back the heather, there is a complementary notion of sensual and emotional apprehension, tied intimately to that task. David's occupation as farmer, his particular being-in-the-world – or as Carolan (2008: 414) uses the term, his 'dwelling' – makes available to him certain embodiments unknown to others (Morris, 2006; 2010; Riley, 2008; Tsouvalis *et al*., 2000). His practical tasks in the rural landscape have given David a distinct feeling towards it; one where the surfaces, smells, contours, textures, the pathways, all which seem to invite time for reflection. One, even, where the land and property serve as a repositories for memories of events in farm and family (Riley & Harvey, 2007). This intimate knowledge of land affords David an attachment which is at once embodied and cognitive (Carolan, 2008). As I suggested earlier, observing David walking the in-by fields a Burdonside, 'looking' for the day's latest lambs, I perceived as sense in which his somatic apprehension of the landscape is one based upon intuited, practical, habitual knowledge: A way of being in and practicing the landscape in a way removed from those participants who were non-farmers (Morris, 2006; 2010; Riley, 2008; Tsouvalis *et al*., 2000). David's perspective privileges a system of local knowledge - one functioning as a repository of distilled wisdom that has guided shepherds for generations. The rural space he constructs is imbued with human action and the meanings derived from 'doing', based on a farmers' understanding of the natural world. The same may be said for both Gwennie and Johnny, whose tunes are also emotional responses to the ephemera of particular landscape places yet theirs are, as

Carolan (2008) suggests, less applied and their music, consequently, more general. Whereas the others provide a different perspective on the landscape, this too is reflected in their compositions, 'Crag lough', Curlew's Return, the North Sea Suite; indeed their tune selections from the traditional Northumbrian canon; Lad's of the North Tyne, Hesleyside Reel and Sweet Hesleyside and so forth. These, we saw in the previous section as most obviously aesthetic, visual representations. Carolan found similar diveregent interpretations between farmers and non-farmers in his ethnographic study of landscape percetions in rural Idaho. Carolan (2008: 414) does not suggest, "that non-farmers only knew the countryside with their eyes", nor that "their feeling for this space was a product of being physically detached from it". Theirs is a deeply sensuous engagement with the landscape, but one morally and perspectivally different from that of the farmer. Rarely do participant discourses describe landscape in terms of agriculture, and such references as there are refer to David himself, who is given the natural authority to articulate agrarian culture. Instead non-farmers' understandings of landscape tended to be optical in nature, referring to vast skies, solid rocks, etc. David, on the other hand, rarely refers to the Tarset landscape with also reference to agriculture, and this emerges in his music.

Image 5.8: Setting the Sheep to the Hill

If David is well aware of the changing face of agriculture and the rural landscape in the UK, his songs are perhaps evidence of his attempts to reconcile with this upheaval. Further evidence of this is found in David's 'Sheep Song'. In recent years in the UK successive farming crises have challenged and reinforced the strength of the idyll to a largely conservative rural populous. "Discourses surrounding BSE, foot and mouth, hunting with dogs, the Countryside Alliance and the future of British farming" David Bell suggests, "straining (but ultimately succeeding) to maintain some idyll-ish notion of the centrality of agrarian life to British culture" (2006: 150-151). To illustrate how such crises imbibe in song, we might take the somewhat anomalous example of David's 'Sheep Song'. In the Long Meadow, David sings the song to me in his kitchen and introduces its with this sentiment:

> Foot and Mouth, when it was over, sort of thinking about it, because, like a lot of farmers I was very vexed and most likely skeptical about the whole thing. So I decided that, you know, everybody was saying 'Oh, poor farmers, poor this that and the other'. So I wrote a song from the sheep's point of view:
>
> Farewell to the Hills where my forebears have roamed,
> Farewell to the Shepherd by whom I was owned -
> Farewell to the footweed; I wish you well:
> Life without me is going to be Hell.
>
> But to those who came and said I was ill,
> Ordered the slaughter-man me for to kill -
> May you rot in Hell for what you have done:
> Never again feel the warmth of the sun.
>
> I was habit in snow for nigh on a week,
> But I ken that my shepherd would be out for to seek -
> But I'd rather have died, there under the snow:
> Than burn on your pyres and make the skies glow.
>
> All you in high places who say that it's right,
> I hope you enjoy the wonderful sight -
> Of me and my kin as we splutter and burn:
> Don't forget very soon it may be your turn.
>
> But now I must go, for the slaughter-man's here,
> I'm just a sheep so I feel no fear -
> Just deep regret in what I know's wrong:

All that I leave is this little song. (TLM, 00:22:10)

Unlike the rhythmyic changing of the season, the Foot & Mouth crisis, which ravaged British agriculture in the year 2001, utterly and without warning disrupted those comfortable notions of dwelling. I sensed in David's attitude to the landscape, and the sheep, 'the last wild' animals on the hills. "So that's a tribute to all the sheep that died", David told me, "... Forget about the humans" (TLM~David) [115]. David expresses an ideology through which culture is converted into nature and becomes purged of ambiguity and alternative possibilities.

In this respect I make the observation, after Kenneth Olwig (2008) about the shepherd's nuanced understanding of hefted 'places'. Various works attest to a more deeply embedded sense of land attachment among farmers, where "repeated, iterative practices also consolidate farmers' intimate and detailed knowledge of their land" (Cheshire et al., 2013: 66; Morris, 2006; 2010; Riley, 2008; Tsouvalis *et al*., 2000). I was lucky enough on any number of occasions to witness this intimate understanding of the natural world and the landscape. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, for instance, when David walked the Burdonside fields looking for new lambs – an observation which lead to a discussion of border ballad, The Twa Corbies. The task I set myself was to ascertain if and how such 'doxic landscapes' might manifest in David's songwriting. As G.E. Mingay put it, "The rural idyll is a changing concept … each generation of country dwellers and observers sees what it want to see in the land; romantic beauty, nostalgic traces of the rustic past, peace, tranquility; despoiled landscapes, brutal intrusions of modernization, hurry, noise, pollution" (1989: 6). The observation I wish to make resonates with

[115] Aside from the communal selectivity of songs, Lloyd suggests, if the song "… appeals to the individual only, if in manner, emotion, and moral it is too personal, too exclusive, too sharp a departure from the line of continuity, the song does not pass into traditional currency but dies on the singers lips" (1967: 18). In this light, it is interesting to note that not once in my observations of David's public performance did he sing this one, although on a number of occasions he sang it for me personally.

popular discourses concerning the tradition and the loss of traditional farming practices, something definitely not lost on David:

> It's always been change, you know, and it always will change. Nothing stands still in the Countryside. It's always moving and always changing, as you go along. But it's sometimes useful just to stop and look back and think 'why did that happen?' 'Are we seeing the same situation happening now? (I~David)

> Basically the reason for that was: When I sing that one I'm always sort of thinking of, 'why did the people leave these houses? What was it that caused them to up and off? Was it disease? Was it Foot and Mouth?' That's how we went from one to the other in my mind. It's always interesting: Why does a farm become derelict? What's caused it? ... Maybe electricity can't be got there and one thing and another and people don't want to live there but in those days that wasn't the case so why did they up and off? Why did it change? (I~David)

As with Heather Reek, and the Hesleyside tunes, so features of past human activity in rural landscapes can act as informal reminders of a community's history, playing an important role in the way that place identities are formed in the present day (Wheeler, 2014). In Tarset, the perception of rurality and change was not homogeneous and was indeed influenced and varied by the different agents within the community setting. Anne, for example, a retiree in the hamlet of Greenhaugh, is concerned by gentrification and the availability of affordable housing housing situation. David on the other hand, is concerned by virtue of his occupation, with the changing materiality of landscape through agricultural change. Thus it is that within certain musical discourses, particularly from those connected with farming, 'modernity' is pitted with regret against 'tradition'. Interestingly, this conflict is made manifest in necessary use of a quad-bike today versus the traditional – and significantly, silent - modes of transport of pony and walking[116].

[116] Similarly, in Kathryn Tickell's 'Northumbrian Voices' project (2011), her father, Mike Tickell, reads Thomas Scotts words: 'Well the biggest change would be the quad-bike, for the shepherd. It used to be all the shepherds would have a pony … Why, you hardly see any shepherd or farmer with a horse. That's the biggest change in the shepherding, it'll be the quad-bike, and its covering more ground. Plus, nowadays, you've often got one shepherd

> I suppose that the big change that's come in farming now … is that, whereas at one time the shepherd would walk in from the hill and had time to contemplate whereas everybody's now going on the quad bike, going fast … but also, in the modern world going to fast you can't stop and think. (I~David)

As Galani-Moutafi (2013: 106) found in his study with participant farmers in Mesta, rural change and technological advances in agricultural systems was "a traumatic crisis, the end of an era and, from the viewpoint of the elderly, loss of their identities". In Tarset, however, it seems the intervention of a music which ostensibly emanates from a time before the current 'crises' of rural change, is also a foil against those changes; a means to participant in and maintain a continuous link with that past. Or indeed, a 'past landscape', which music can function to recollect:

> Aye, you might perhaps link them through the area and the way vegetation grows. Post Kielder Forest and pre Kielder Forest for example. Not many tunes about pine trees in the middle of Kielder Forest is there? (I~Johnny)

From David's point of view, as an indigenous farmer, the changing portrait of euro-centric agricultural incentives and the necessity of technological advancement spells something of a decline in the proper agricultural order: Something too, which his music helps to reconcile. In this we might see the intervention of the quad-bike as a kind of 'anti-walking'; subverting the image of 'traditional' farming practices associated with the Shepherds. There is an interesting parallel to be drawn here between current Northumbrian discourses and those of the first revivalists, who saw the impending loss of putative traditions in the tumult of industrial progress. For David, this means an experience of landscape, and its potential for musical inspiration, limited by the necessary use of the quad-bike: "A quad bike makes noise; you don't' hear little bits and pieces in the background that could be the thing that sparks something off in your mind" (I~David). It is for this reason that David and

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having to look after two farms. He's just running around on his bike and he doesn't see what he used to see … If you're walking or riding a pony, you can hear a lamb blearing in a drain, little things like that' (2011, CD 2; track 2).

Maureen, whilst their day-to-day activities on Burdonside are assisted by the quad-bike, make a point of 'gathering the hill' *on foot*, specifically to maintain some connection with 'how it has always been done' (see 5.8). Walking can therefore be seen as an act of resistance against modernity (Wallace, 1993), a source of musical inspiration for David through the close observation of nature walking affords, and likewise an opportunity for personal reflection (Lee & Ingold, 2006; Frey, 1998). As such, like with 'Walk with me …', which is literally the recounting of a walk from the source of the river North Tyne, walking landscape is also the walking of musical pathways (Finnegan, 1989).

Image 5.9: David clipping at Burdonside, July 2013

David cares about the land in an concrete way, yet applies value rather loosely in a romantic idealization of the landscape; adopts aesthetic concepts of nature and expresses a generalized concern for the health of resources (Strang, 1999). "Oh yes. I'm highly admiring of everybody that's gone before" David suggests: "To my view anybody that's in farming or anybody that's in shepherding is custodian for the length of time that they're there. There was

always the adage in the past that you left a farm better than you found it. Nowadays of course because of environmental purposes that's not altogether the done thing. You leave it as nature intended." (I~David). What one may interpret as a romantic view, David's discoruses reveal a different way of reasoning guided by the values and perspective of an older generation of farmers and livestock. The landscape and shepherding are tied symbolically to David's life. In his discourse one can locate a cultural texture of a type of rurality and a sense of identity rooted in and symbolized by the length of association with the particular locality, which is inscribed on working and improving the land. Environmental concern, Vorkinn and Riese (2002) and Derr (2002) have both shown how place attachments often manifest in environmental concern. Gobster *et al.* (2007) have also shown how places perceived as intrinsically valuable and beautiful are more likely to receive protection.

> As we descended towards the in-by land –which I recognised from previously looking out towards the direction we were coming as David showed me the extent of his land; the land we had just come across – David said:
>
> "You see, its up there that you'll compose songs … when the weather's fine, and you walk about looking at the sheep …"
>
> "There's nowt else to do" He added.
>
> He told me plainly his view of the countryside, something which he had said in our first conversation but which I hadn't quite grasped until now. That is, the farmer – he, David – is simply preserving the land for the next. His sheep have lived on the fell, generation after generation long before he owned them, lambing year after year. All of those sheep are hefted, that is, by some miracle the lamb born on the fell and taken down to the farm, knows instinctively which particular part to return to and to which its mother, grandmother, great grandmother etcetera have done before it. In this sense David talked of the sheep as wild animals, indigenous to the fell – almost as if each particular flock were a rare species found only in its particular heft. The sense is that he simply cares for that long lineage of sheep and in return takes his own living. (RD~David)

David himself attests:

> I own the sheep but when I leave this farm, I have to leave a hundred and fifty ewes, and a hundred hogs, which means that

> those ewes have produced these lambs. That's been going on now for about a hundred, two hundred years, a hundred and fifty years I think. So the sheep out there know more about that piece of ground than any human possibly can than any animal ... Because they actually live on that hill. The foxes, the badgers just roam through and they know that hill but they don't know it as intimately as the sheep do ... (I~David)

It is an interesting notion of the farmer as countryside caretaker. A cynic may pooh pooh it as an esoteric or romantic idea. I however, believe that David is sincere in what he says; what reason would he have to say otherwise? And indeed, because such conversations have – apparently – little to do with my PhD, one would argue against his fabricating fancies for my benefit. The inevitable conclusion is to draw a parallel between the farmer as custodian of the land, of which he is a humble participant in the long history of the hill and flock, and the singer as custodian of traditional songs; of which, again, he is just a participant in a long history. Such a comparison is predictable and romantic, yes, but difficult to leave behind. More importantly, it seems that David sincerely believes it to be the case.

5.5. Conclusion to Chapter 5

The *processes* of place construction, then, are presented chiefly through the socio-cultural representations of rural landscape provided by folk song and tune. Musicians, as Long (2013: 49) suggests, "[…] may willingly or otherwise become a part of such place representation processes"[117]. For my purposes then, the term 'representation', as in Halfacree's model, functions analytically as a kind of discursive coding for rurality (1993; 1995; Revill, 2012): It is a

[117] The extent to which a musician 'willingly' or 'otherwise' engages with representations of rurality is difficult to assess. However, by the analysis of song lyrics alongside the ethnographic information ascertained from interviews I shall make some suggestions towards this. I shall however, give some instances where these have been actively employed, and indeed subverted by musicians.

means to articulate and communicate imagined and real rural spaces, their practices and their meanings, musically, verbally and/or visually. In the chapter I have described two variations in representation, the general and the particular. Closely tied to locality, representation, and the practices of rural occupations, these representations of Tarset and rurality through music are an important and novel means to approach place constructions and attachments through a traditional culture. The final theme addressed in this chapter, reflected by the 'lives of the rural' component of Halfacree's (2006a) model and representing what I have called the practiced/experienced aspects of the rural condition, concerned the more embodied, corporeal relationships between landscape, place, and musical practices. In section 5.3 I intimated how the meanings of constructed/agential 'representations of the rural' provided by folk tune and song, are actually complicit with experiential landscapes of practice. These ideas I developed further in section 5.4 of the chapter, with particular reference to shepherding as a typical rural practice in Northumberland, but one that is intimately associated with the history of Norhtumbrian music. As Driver and Bennett (2015) recently observed, however, there is very little work concerning music and human embodiment. This aspect of my own thesis is intended as a tentative corrective this paucity.

Chapter 6:

Conclusions: Community, Place and Folk Music in a Rural Northumbrian Parish

Throughout the thesis I have considered both community and place as concepts at once material, constructed, and experienced. Employing a broad spectrum of approaches in the rural studies canon - apparent in structural-funcionalist, social constructionist, and more-than-representational paradigms – I have attempted to reveal the interconnected natures of these conditions in community, place and folk music in the rural Northumbrian parish of Tarset. The triangulated ethnographic methods employed - of interview, participant observation, and filmmaking - have provided me rich data sets and a means to put into practice the 'hybrid rural' approach devised in Chapter 2. By incorporating my own 'ethnographic self' in the analysis, I have addressed Cook's (1998) assertion that we should study music by placing ourselves within its practice (Finnegan, 2003; Revill, 2005).

The thesis contributes firstly to the literature by exploring the ways residents in a rural Northumbrian parish construct and enact 'community' through participation with folk music. Reemploying Ruth Liepins (2000a) model for studying rural communities, in the first analysis chapter I explored the role folk music plays in shaping senses of community in Tarset. The meanings shared by participants I showed as relevant to the aspirational cultures of in-migrancy. In essence, my proposition here accorded with Murdoch and Marsden's (1994) assertion that pursuit of 'rural life' is often synonymous with pursuit of an idealized 'community'. Accordingly the findings suggest that musical participation plays an integral role in the cohesion and the 'boundary making process' of the rural community. I showed too how significant individuals, in this instance David McCracken, might come to embody and represent such shared ideals. As an 'authentic voice', I suggested David's role

in the community affirms the ideas of continuity associated with the Northumbrian tradition. David's song 'Walk with me' I used to illustrate his capacity to lend a voice and narrative to those ideals. In such instances of public accord, the words of songs, and their performers, are empowered with potential to call places into being (Tuan, 1991). It is in this sense in which folk music again becomes a relational concept towards representations of rurality and earns its significance towards 'material evidence' and ideological 'community cohesion'. "If such a community does not exist", Murdoch and Marsden suggest, "it will be *created* as incomers weave together the 'old' and the 'new' into a 'hybrid' rurality" (1994: 229, emphasis added). Although I did not delve too deeply into debates on the rural idyll, I did illustrate some of the ways potentially idyllized meanings are negotiated, constructed and experienced by participants (Bunce, 1994; 2003) and indeed, how in-migration may have served to transform the community they were first attracted to (Cloke, 2006). In this way the rural idyll represents a 'landscape of desire' (Dupuis, 2006); that is, the ideation of rural space in the bourgeois imagination (Bell, 2006).

I also explored through Liepins' model the ways folk music plays in community 'practices'. Collective musical participation, I suggested, offers an important socializing function to participants. The interactions that occur in and around music making provide participants with opportunities to socialize and improve wellbeing, with benefits that extend beyond the bounds of the music-making scenario. Indeed, it appears that folk music plays an important 'socializing function' in the enactment of community and the affirmation of communal bonds in a sparsely populated, geographically isolated location. I argued that the complex social structures negotiated by participants are, like other analyses of folk 'communities', largely inclusive. However, they are hierarchically organized by the roles of certain powerful and motivated individuals. The stage-managed nature of community allows for the group to present an identity to itself and to others, and likewise to draw boundaries between itself and others. Such 'community' as exists in this way, around

some cultural affinity, is not objective – though it is rooted in the material - but 'imagined'. In the capacity for collectivized action, the 'imagined community' is made manifest through its enactment or performance (Anderson, 1983; Edensor, 2006; Woods, 2010). The community is 'imagined' into being in and through the structures and spaces of performance; rendered credible its members by a sense of commonality in attitude, belief and behavior and so forth (Cohen, 1985; Anderson, 1983).

In the final part of chapter 4 I explored some of the ways those structural aspects of community - the 'spaces and structures' aspect of Liepins' model (2000a) – influence the make-up of musical experiences. In particular I intimated the potentially divisive ways in which certain communal spaces may engender conflicting images of rurality. Thus I showed how the structures of musical evenings provided a sense of continuity and familiarity to the community, whilst the particular venues held differing community constructs.

In the second analysis chapter I employed Keith Halfacree's three-fold model for rural space to explore the ways folk music shapes senses of place in Tarset. This analysis chapter examined and challenged the conventional associations made between folk music and the rural landscape, suggesting that the rural 'place', both geographical and imagined, is an important element in musicians' experiences of music making. I showed through examples of general and particular representations of rural landscape how folk music can both desist and encourage from unique and distinctive relationships with place. Inculcated in the processes of representation is the presence of landscape as a spatial retainer for memories and experiences of Northumbrian music. Toponymic references to Tarset's particular landscape features – in the imitation, quotation and allegory of place names, natural sounds and images – provided participants a means by which to channel and memorialize personal experiences of landscape. In the final part of the chapter I concentrated upon the experiential aspects of being in landscape. Through the prism of the Northumbrian tradition, and particularly the Shepherds, I explored through a more-than-representational approach the

ways landscape as a space of practice has significant relevance in an interface between music making and landscape.

The work is novel in its treatment of rural community and placemaking by exploring them through the lens of Northumbrian folk music. The analysis counterpoises these against wider historical and contemporary discourses on the character of Northumbrian music and the Northumbrian region. Indeed, crucial to the discussion – and the originality of its emphasis – is the juxtaposition between an historical idiom and its contemporary practice; between a postmodern conception of 'community' as socially constructed, fluid and processual, and a case-study that resembles social structures (of geographical boundedness and reciprocal relationships) often attributed to functionalist 'traditional' communities. It is perhaps the incomers desire to achieve this, what Paul Cloke calls an 'anachronistic' purview of the rural as "an island of cultural specificity and traditionalism", for which folk music thrives in Tarset (Cloke, 2006: 19). Despite a healthy interest in sociologies of music, relatively few studies have approached community and place in terms of a localized form of folk music, and still less in terms specifically rural. Likewise, there have been relatively few academic works into the UK folk music scene, despite its continuing popularity and presence within our cultural life. The work will therefore be useful in comparative analyses in the same or other genres, particularly within the UK. Moreover, the findings will be of value to the fields of rural social research, showing as they do, the important catalyzing role cultural materials, such as folk music, can have in enabling the construction of a localized and valuable sense of community and place.

The thriving folk music culture in Tarset undoubtedly contributes to a vibrant sense of local community. Community members feel empowered to manage and maintain participatory structures, such as the song Reiver choir, and to stage-manage musical events, such as the various ceilidhs I attended during my fieldwork. The obvious beneficial impacts upon individual wellbeing and collective cohesion cannot be underestimated. Moreover, I have shown how the perculiarly historical nature of the folk idiom also provides these ideals

with a sense of historical rootedness and continuity. Avenues for further research are clearly evident in the number of gaps I have highlighted in the literature, however, particularly concerning folk culture in British rural communities. Work to examine further the potential endogeneous community development through traditional cultures would be welcome and potentially fruitful for policy approaches in rural areas. Indeed, policy initiatives to encourage community sustainability through folk music projects are poorly accounted for in the literature and require further consideration. Finally, the potential impetus for folk cultures as contributors to burgeoning academic interest in 'rural creative economies' would be productive course for further research.

The special atmosphere in Tarset, the sense of shared values and communal bonds I perceived there, may well simply be a moment in the long history of the place. Perhaps that atmosphere is a unique conflagration of many of the themes I have explored throughout the thesis; the presence of charismatic local individuals; the sense of history emanating from the ancient bastle houses and reiving surnames; the desire among in-migrants to live out an idyllic rural lifestyle; the surroundings of wild upland fell, through which the seasons manifest in the changing weather, flora, and fauna; the cycles of the farming year; and, of course, deep-rooted sense of continuity upheld by the Northumbrian musical tradition. Whether or not this is simply a unique moment, I hope it long continues.

Seven: Appendices

1. Semi Structured Interview Schedule:

- How did you first become involved in folk music?
- What do you think folk music means? Is there a difference between what is called 'folk music' and 'traditional music'? Do you consider yourself a folk or traditional musician?
- What is Northumbrian music? What does the 'tradition' mean for you?
- Tell me about Tarset … can you describe what living here is like?
- So many folk songs and tunes seem to be a reaction to particular rural places, people and events … what does that mean for you?
- Does the nature of living in a rural place play a role in your music?
- If so, is there a particular song or tune which is evocative of this, for you personally? Why?
- Have you composed any of your own songs or tunes? Tell me about them …
- In what circumstances do you play? In public, or privately?
- What's different about performing alone, on stage or with a group?
- Do you feel that there is a community in Tarset? What does community mean for you?
- Does music play a role in 'community'? How much? Does Tarset have an identity RE music?
- Where do your songs/ tunes come from? Does Northumbrian music have a particular resonance? Why/why not?
- Is playing Northumbrian music important? Why?

2. The Long Meadow.

   A DVD copy of the Long Meadow is included with the thesis presentation. Running time 1:12 minutes approximately.

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